

Delaware and Hudson Canal Company

Troubled Times—the 1870s



Section of Washburn Street Cemetery, Scranton, PA, wherein are interred the earthly remains of many of the 110 men and boys who were killed in the September 6, 1869 Avondale Mine Disaster, Plymouth Township, PA. Photo by the author on September 6, 2014.

By

S. Robert Powell, Ph.D.

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A History of the
Delaware and Hudson Canal Company
in 24 Volumes

S. Robert Powell, Ph.D., 1974
Indiana University, Bloomington, IN

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II	Gravity Railroad: 1845 Configuration
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Telling the Story

In writing this history of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, I frequently find myself thinking about the astonishing discoveries and archeological achievements of the Scottish journalist Charles Maclaren, the English archaeologist Frank Calvert, and the German businessman and archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann, and others who identified Hisarlik in Asia Minor as the site of ancient Troy. Thanks to their fine work, we now know (1) that there were in archaeological Troy at least nine cities, built one on top of the other, at that site, in the period 3,000 B.C.--c. 500 A.D., and (2) that Homeric Troy was the seventh level on that site, and that it dates from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries B.C.

To arrive at those conclusions, the historians and archaeologists of Troy, like all professional historians worth their salt, followed, necessarily, clearly articulated procedural guidelines which made it possible for them to recognize and identify what they discovered there in front of them and to reconcile those first-person discoveries with known data, and to synthesize the results for the record. Learning—and writing—the history of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company is not any less daunting as an objective, even though the temporal depth of the history of the D&H is miniscule when compared to ancient Troy and even though we are in the present endeavor focused for the most part on known sites.

Whether it's ancient Troy or the D&H, the successful historian will, therefore, record what he determines to be facts, all the while avoiding unsubstantiated opinions (unless identified as such), cherished notions (either those of the author or of informants), hearsay, recollections of unreliable informants who might have been "there" at the time, tenuous "published" documents, and the like, the objective being to establish a record, an historical and intellectual path, down which others may tread, should they choose to do so, a path which, at the same time, can be enriched by other researchers and historians.

Having said that, let us now take a look at "the troubled 1870s" in the anthracite coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania, a decade that is a veritable mine field of conflicting opinions, laced with ethnic prejudices, jaundiced "reporting," myopic hysteria, and wishful thinking.

S. Robert Powell
February 10, 2016

Overview

The industrial revolution in America was born on October 9, 1829, in Carbondale, PA, when the first cut of Delaware & Hudson Gravity Railroad coal cars, loaded with mass produced anthracite coal, headed up Plane No. 1 out of Carbondale for Honesdale and to market in New York City.

Those cars, filled with anthracite coal from mines in Carbondale, traveled over 16 miles of railroad tracks, made up of eight inclined planes and three levels, to Honesdale, where the coal was transferred into canal boats and hauled 108 miles, through the D&H Canal, to the Hudson River.

Most of the coal that was sent through the D&H system in the course of the nineteenth century was shipped south on the Hudson River to the New York metropolitan market and to many ports on the Atlantic seaboard, north and south of New York. A large quantity of anthracite coal was also shipped up the Hudson River to Albany, and shipped through the Erie Canal to the American Midwest.

The mining, manufacturing, and transportation system that became operational on that day between the anthracite mines of the Lackawanna Valley and the retail markets for that coal on the eastern seaboard and in the American Midwest was the product of enlightened entrepreneurial, technological, and managerial thought on the part of the officers, managers, directors, and employees of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. That system, the first private sector million-dollar enterprise in American history, was, at the same time, the pioneer expression on this continent of mass production, a mode of production that would thereafter characterize industry in America and around the world.

Mass production, the revolutionary engine that made it possible for the D&H to launch its mining, manufacturing, and transportation system in Carbondale on October 9, 1829, and to perpetuate that system well into the 20th century, came into existence when it did and lasted for as long as it did because a body of employees

and managers, within the context of a community, of which both groups were a part, chose to work together for their mutual benefit and enrichment, to mass produce and market a commodity, and in so doing to implement the clearly articulated production and marketing objectives of “the company,” the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.

In this 24-volume work on the D&H,* we will (1) document the history of that mining, manufacturing, and transportation system, with a special focus on the rail lines of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company in northeastern Pennsylvania, from the opening of the D&H Gravity Railroad in 1829 to the anthracite coal strike of 1902; and (2) demonstrate that the history of that mining, manufacturing, and transportation system, the D. & H. C. Co., from 1829 to 1902, is, at the same time, not only an illustration of eight decades of fine tuning by the D&H of their mass production procedures and techniques but also a full-bodied expression and record, both from the point of view of the D&H and from the point of view of its employees, of the birth, development, and first maturity of the industrial revolution in America.

This is a success story, directed by America’s pioneer urban capitalists, and implemented by them and the tens of thousands of men, women, and children who emigrated from Europe to the coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania in the nineteenth century to work for and with the D&H and to start their lives over again. This is a success story that is important not only within in the context of local, state, and regional history but also within the context of American history. It is a compelling story.

*The present volume focuses on *Troubled Times—the 1870s*. Each of these 24 volumes will focus on one aspect of the history of the Delaware and Hudson railroad, from the opening of the Gravity Railroad in 1829 to the anthracite coal strike of 1902. Each volume will be an autonomous entity and published separately.

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Troubled Times—the 1870s

1301

First Labor/Management Problems in the Anthracite Fields, 1854

The first labor/management problems in the anthracite coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania took place in 1854, when the miners employed by the Pennsylvania Coal Company and the Lackawanna and Western Railroad Co. at Scranton went on strike. At the same time, increased wages were demanded by the laborers employed on several sections of the Lackawanna and Western Railroad between Scranton and the Delaware River. In some instances the contractors had given notice that unless an advance of 10 per cent be allowed them their contracts would be thrown up. This we know from an article that was published in the June 16, 1854 issue of the *Carbondale Transcript and Lackawanna Journal*:

“**STRIKES.**—The miners in the employ of the Pennsylvania Coal Co. at Pittston were on a strike last week, also those in the employ of the Lackawanna and Western Railroad Co. at Scranton. / We have been informed that increased wages are demanded by the laborers employed on several sections of the Lackawanna and Western Railroad between Scranton and the Delaware River, and that in some instances the Contractors had given notice that unless an advance of 10 per cent be allowed them their contracts would be thrown up. The laborer is worthy of his hire, his family must live, and at the present high prices of produce, it is but just that his wages be correspondingly advanced. It is somewhat significant of the liberality and justice of the Managers of the Del. & Hudson Co. that we have no strikes and hear of no murmurings. A disposition has always been manifested by this company to pay the best prices to their miners, and we believe the company has never refused to consider the justice of appeals for increased rates for mining when the times seemed to render them necessary or proper.” (*Carbondale Transcript and Lackawanna Journal*, June 16, 1854, p. 2)

The D&H, did not have at that time (and had not had before that) any labor problems. That was the case because, as the author of the article cited above from the *Carbondale Transcript and Lackawanna Journal* perceptively noted, “[a] disposition has always been manifested by this company [the D&H] to pay the best prices to their miners, and we believe the company has never refused to consider the justice of appeals for increased rates for mining when the times seemed to render them necessary or proper”.

1302

First D&H Labor/Management Problems: Eight-Day Strike on the D&H Canal, May 1856

The first disagreement between labor and management on the D&H took place in the spring of 1856 when the canal opened with the new drop-gates in place. With the new drop-gates as well as improved machinery for operating the lower gates of the locks, one lock tender could now

lock a boat through more efficiently and easily than two men had done previously. In addition, standard freight rates for locking through were now charged boatmen. The boatmen were not pleased with these new arrangements and on May 15, 1856, the boatmen at Eddyville struck, demanding a rate which would enable them to meet the higher living costs. The company offered \$1.05 per ton. The boatmen accepted the offer. Eight days after the strike began, boats were moving through the canal once again. In *E. D. LeRoy*, we read:

"A new, practical, time-saving innovation, the drop-gate, was first tried out on the D. & H. Canal in 1855. The device proved so satisfactory that, as soon as the canal closed for the season, in December of that year, the work of replacing the upper gates of each lock throughout the canal was begun. The work progressed rapidly and by May, 1856, the new gates were ready for use. These new gates, together with the improved machinery for operating the lower gates, which were not in themselves changes, now made it possible for one lock tender to lock a boat through more efficiently and easily than two men had done before. / At this time the practice of basing the freight payment, to the boat owners, upon the length of time taken for the trip was abandoned and the freight rate of ninety-two cents per ton for the trip, with an additional allowance of five cents per ton to boatmasters who conformed strictly with the contract, and the rules for navigating the canal. This rate was not deemed satisfactory by the boatmen, who struck at Eddyville on May 15th, demanding a rate which would enable them to meet the higher living costs. The demands seem to have been justified, for the company's offer of \$1.05 per ton was accepted and eight days after the strike had begun, the boats were moving again." (p. 68)

1303

D&H Labor/Management Problems: Colliery Workers Strike for Several Weeks, 1857

The first disagreement between labor and management on the D&H on the railroad/at the collieries/in the mines took place in 1857. That fact we learned from the obituary of Charles Pemberton Wurts.

In the summer of 1881, former D&H Superintendent C. P. Wurts was taken seriously ill at the Saint Charles Hotel in Scranton. In the June 11, 1881 issue of the *Carbondale Advance* (p. 3) we read:

"C. P. Wurts, Esq, former R. R. Supt. here, was taken seriously ill at the St. Charles Hotel in Scranton, about two weeks since. Mr. G. L. Dickson learning of it had him conveyed to his residence, where by careful nursing he recovered so as to be able to return home on Saturday last." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 11, 1881, p. 3)

On August 11, 1892, at the age of 69, C. P. Wurts died at Bar Harbor, Maine. From his obituary that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 16, 1892, p. 4, we learn that in 1857 the

miners made a demand for an advance of two and one-half cents per ton and stopped working. The strike continued for several weeks. C. P. Wurts met with the miners and promised that their wage demands would be met provided they went back to work at once. The miners agreed. The strike ended.

Here is the complete obituary of Charles Pemberton Wurts as published in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 16, 1892. The portion of the obituary with the report on the first great strike at the D&H collieries in 1857 has been highlighted here:

“CHARLES P. WURTS DEAD. / He Was Formerly Superintendent of the D. & H. and Lived Here. / Yesterday’s *New York Tribune* contained a brief notice of the death of Charles Pemberton Wurts, which occurred at Bar Harbor, Maine, August 11th in the sixty-ninth year of his age. / Just half a century ago Mr. Wurts came to this city [Carbondale] and for a time was a member of the Delaware & Hudson Canal company’s engineer corps. He was the nephew and adopted son of John Wurts, at that time president of the Delaware & Hudson Canal company. Soon after his arrival here he was appointed assistant to James Archbald, the general superintendent, serving in that capacity until Mr. Archbald removed to Scranton, when Mr. Wurts assumed entire charge of the company’s affairs in this locality. It was under his administration that the present gravity railroad was constructed and many changes made in the methods of transporting the product of the mines from the valley of the Lackawanna to the canal which at that time was the company’s only means of reaching New York city and tidewater.

[Begin : **C. P. Wurts and the strike at the D&H collieries in 1857**]

In those days Mr. Wurts was general manager of all the company’s business, and to him all differences were referred. The first great strike at the company’s collieries took place in 1857, when the miners made a demand for an advance of two and one-half cents per ton. The regular price for mining at that time was thirty-five cents. After several weeks of idleness the miners resumed work upon the promise of Mr. Wurts that the advance asked for would be given them when operations were resumed. This was the one condition fixed by Superintendent Wurts, the men took him at his word and had no reason to regret it. / Many of the old residents will remember how the miners congregated every afternoon on the hill east of Park street to talk over their differences and it was then Mr. Wurts met them and effected the settlement on which operations at the mines were resumed. /

[End : **C. P. Wurts and the strike at the D&H collieries in 1857**]

[C. P. Wurts obituary continues] During his residence here Mr. Wurts built the house and reclaimed the grounds now owned and occupied by E. E. Hendrick. / From that year 1860 to 1863 Mr. Wurts was in partnership with W. H. Richmond in the Elk Hill colliery at Dickson City and about the same period he was associated with Edward Jones, Lewis Pughe, and Abel Barker

in developing the mines at Olyphant. He was also identified with other industries in this locality and was known as a progressive business man of this community. He took an interest in local affairs and was always ready to assist in any movement to better the condition of the men in the employ of the Delaware & Hudson Canal company. / Mr. Wurts continued in charge of the Delaware & Hudson interests until 1864, when he was succeeded by Thomas Dickson. Upon his retirement Mr. Wurts went abroad with his family and spent several years in Europe. For the past fifteen years he has been a resident of New Haven, Conn. / Of the men who were actively engaged in coal operations during the years Mr. Wurts was general superintendent of the chief corporation of the Lackawanna valley, few are alive at present. Among the first operators who had contracts to ship coal over the Delaware & Hudson lines were William Brennan, J. Offerman, J. C. Chittenden, A. Eaton, George and John Simpson, Edward Jones, Lewis Pughe, Abel Barker, W. H. Richmond, J. J. Albright, G. L. Dickson, John Jermyn. Of this number only four are living and only two, Messrs. Richmond and Jermyn, are actively engaged in the coal business." (*Carbondale Leader*, August 16, 1892, p. 4)

A very interesting feature of the C. P. Wurts negotiations with the miners during this strike of several weeks in 1857, when seen from the perspective of conflict resolution, was the stipulation made by C.P. Wurts that the advance asked for by the miners would be granted as soon as mining operations were resumed. In the C.P. Wurts obituary, we read:

"After several weeks of idleness the miners resumed work upon the promise of Mr. Wurts that the advance asked for would be given them when operations were resumed. This was the one condition fixed by Superintendent Wurts, the men took him at his word and had no reason to regret it." (*Carbondale Leader*, August 16, 1892, p. 4)

1304

April 1859: Grievance Committee of Miners Formed; Miners Unwilling to Work for Contractors but Willing to Work for D&H

In April 1859, labor/management difficulties arose again between the D&H and the miners. D&H Chief Engineer, C. P. Wurts was again called upon to mediate a resolution to the difficulties.

The miners' point of view and position:

- Appointed a grievance committee at "a meeting of the Miners held at 'Union Hill,' on Wednesday afternoon," the committee to speak with Chief Engineer C. P. Wurts about the problem
- Unwilling to work for Contractors but willing to work for the Company, the D&H
- Strong disapproval of "the late acts of incendiarism of which some lawless and desperate persons have been guilty"

The "difficulties" were resolved, as a journalist writing for the *Carbondale Advance* noted, "without any sacrifice, so far as we can see, of dignity or rights on either side." That same writer noted, appropriately, that "The overture for work was accepted in the same spirit and on the terms as proffered, and the assurances made of kindly feeling seem to be genuine on all sides. / The Miners deserve as a body the credit due to all good citizens for their scrupulous regard to law and good order. Our streets have been quiet and peaceful, and there has been throughout an abstinence from those disturbances which rumor has in some neighboring places reported as existing." (*Carbondale Advance*, April 30, 1859, p. 2)

Here is the report on these "difficulties" in April 1859 as reported in the *Carbondale Advance* of April 30, 1859, p. 2:

“Business Resumed. / All difficulty in relation to work in the Mines here has been happily adjusted during the week. It has been done without any sacrifice, so far as we can see, of dignity or rights on either side. / At a meeting of the Miners held at ‘Union Hill,’ on Wednesday afternoon, a Committee was appointed to wait on C. P. Wurts, Esq., Chief Engineer, and express to him their unwillingness to work for Contractors, from the evils to which the system elsewhere led, but their entire willingness to work for the Company as heretofore. This was connected with assurances of their entire discountenance and disapproval of the late acts of incendiarism of which some lawless and desperate persons have been guilty. The overture for work was accepted in the same spirit and on the terms as proffered, and the assurances made of kindly feeling seem to be genuine on all sides. / The Miners deserve as a body the credit due to all good citizens for their scrupulous regard to law and good order. Our streets have been quiet and peaceful, and there has been throughout an abstinence from those disturbances which rumor has in some neighboring places reported as existing. / Now that the skies are again bright, and the prospect good for remunerative business, our merchants are *en route* for New-York, and lively times ahead seem to be in store for us.” (*Carbondale Advance*, April 30, 1859, p. 2)

Two very important points are underlined by the writer of the above article about the resolution of these difficulties in April 1859:

1. The miners at Carbondale (and in the upper Lackawanna Valley generally, as we will demonstrate in the pages that follow), with "scrupulous regard to law and good order" and with "an abstinence from those disturbances which rumor has in some neighboring paces [e. g., the southern portion of the anthracite coal fields] reported as existing," demonstrated that they were willing to resolve with "scrupulous regard to law and good order" their "difficulties" with management.

2. With D&H management and labor working together in harmony, everybody benefits, including those merchants in the community who relied on the D&H transportation system between Carbondale and the Hudson River as a means of shipping and receiving goods from New York.

With many of the revisions to the D&H transportation system envisioned by the 1859 configuration of the Gravity Railroad now in place, and with labor and management working harmoniously together, it is not surprising that coal shipments from Carbondale and Honesdale were larger than ever. From an article in the June 18, 1859 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*, we learn that 210 trips of loaded coal cars (about 3,000 tons of coal) were sent to Honesdale on Thursday, June 16:

“Coal Business. / The Shipments of Coal from this point, including that received from below [i.e., down the valley] exceeded that of any former period. Two hundred and ten trips were run upon the Railroad on Thursday—conveying but little less than 3,000 tons of Coal. / We understand that the Shipments from Honesdale per Canal on some days exceed 4,000 tons.” (*Carbondale Advance*, June 18, 1859, p. 3)

By early July 1859, weekly shipment figures were record breaking:

“Coal Shipments. / Everything about the Company’s Mines and Railroad here seems to work admirably this season. The shipments of Coal have reached a higher amount per week than during any previous season, and are still to be increased.” (*Carbondale Advance*, July 2, 1859, p. 3)

Three thousand tons shipped per day was several hundred tons more than in any other season:

“3,000 TONS PER DAY.—Under the present excellent management upon our Railroad, the daily shipments of coal have reached this high figure. It is several hundred tons more than were shipped daily in any former season.” (*Carbondale Advance*, July 16, 1859, p. 3)

In the summer of 1862 the Lackawaxen Aqueduct (built 1848) was swept away by a flood and six weeks of the most favorable season for canal navigation were lost. In June 1862, there were nearly 500 men at work building a new aqueduct over the Lackawaxen River. In the *Carbondale Advance* of June 28, 1862, p. 2, we read:

“The Del. & Hud. Canal.—We regret to state that owing to unexpected difficulties in keeping the water out of the coffer dam, the work of laying the foundation for the pier of the new aqueduct at Lackawaxen has been delayed considerably beyond the time which it was supposed would be required. Four steam engines having been found inadequate to the purpose of keeping the dam dry, a fifth was procured and set to work on Monday last. Allowing one week for laying the foundation of the pier, two weeks for building the same, and a fortnight more for the completion of the wood-work of the aqueduct, we are scarcely warranted in looking for the resumption of navigation much before the 1st of August. There are nearly five hundred men at work on this break, including many of the best mechanics on the line of the canal and all under the personal supervision of chief engineer Lord, so that we may be assured that the work will be pushed to a completion at the earliest possible day. The breaks at the Narrows and other points, though very extensive, will be repaired in the course of a few days.—*Wayne Co. Herald.*” (*Carbondale Advance*, June 28, 1862, p. 2)

In mid-July 1862, it was reported in the *Carbondale Advance*,

(1) that navigation on the Canal had been resumed, and

(2) that “the difficulties between the boatmen and the Company [possibly beginning before the washout, possibly beginning as the Lackawaxen Aqueduct was being rebuilt] have been satisfactorily adjusted, and that there will be no detention of boats in consequence of a strike.”

We have not yet learned the exact nature of “the difficulties between the boatmen and the Company” at this time. Whatever the case, the D&H voluntarily paid each master of a boat fifty dollars, and navigation (with a new aqueduct in place, and with labor /management problems resolved) was resumed—to the benefit of the boatmen but at considerable expense to the D&H (loss of revenue for six weeks during the wash out of the Lackawaxen aqueduct; many thousands of dollars of expenses to construct a new aqueduct, payment of \$20,000 to their employees). The generosity and benevolence of D&H management in this instance and throughout the nineteenth century, as we will demonstrate in the pages that follow, is remarkable and extraordinary.

In the *Carbondale Advance* of July 19, 1862, we read the following about the wash out of the Lackawaxen aqueduct in the summer of 1862 and the labor/management difficulties on the D&H Canal that were taking place at the same time.

“The Del. & Hud. Canal. / The *Wayne C. Herald* of this week has the following truthful and appropriate article in regard to resuming business:-- / Navigation has been resumed. The aqueduct was nearly enough completed on Monday evening to admit of its being filled, and on Tuesday morning, boats passed freely up and down. We are gratified to state that the difficulties

between the boatmen and the Company have been satisfactorily adjusted, and that there will be no detention of boats in consequence of a strike. The liberal offer of fifty dollars to each master of a boat, which the Company voluntarily made, seems to have been properly appreciated, and navigation was generally resumed on Wednesday. What with the donation mentioned, the opportunities which the boatmen had of earning something while the canal was being repaired, and the probability that every facility will be afforded for an increase of business during the remainder of the season, we think that the boatmen will not find themselves seriously the losers by the late detention. The same cannot be said of the Company, however, who have suffered a loss of six weeks time in the best part of the season, been put to an expense of thousands upon thousands of dollars to repair the damages caused by the flood, and have made a present of upwards of \$20,000 to their employees. In view of these facts, we hope that there are none so ungenerous or shortsighted as to advocate a course which would occasion further delay, and consequently greater damage to the business interests of this entire community." (*Carbondale Advance*, July 19, 1862, p. 2)

1305

February 1864: Work Stoppage in the Upper Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys in Support of "those below"

On February 15, 1864, the coal business in the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys having come to halt, because the men here (the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys) "turned out" (stop working) in behalf of those below (south of Wilkes-Barre), the cause of the work stoppage by the miners "below" being a reduction in the price of mining and an increase in the cost of oil and black powder.

In the notice in the *Carbondale Advance* of February 20, 1864 about this work stoppage, that work stoppage is referred to by the *Carbondale Advance*, in quotations marks, as a "Strike". During this work stoppage, the "Company", the D&H Canal Company, we read in that notice, "are improving the time in necessary repairs." Here is that notice from the *Carbondale Advance*:

"There has been nothing done in the Coal Business here the present week, what is termed a "Strike" commencing on Monday last. We are not informed of particulars, but we believe the men here turned out in behalf of those below, the price of mining there having been reduced, and oil and powder raised. The Company are improving the time in necessary repairs." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 20, 1864, p. 2)

The fact that the *Carbondale Advance*, in its February 20, 1864 issue, said that nothing was being done in the coal business because "what is termed a *Strike*" began on February 15, 1864 is very interesting from an etymological perspective. It tells us that the word "strike" must have been regarded as a new word at the time in the language of the anthracite coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania, perhaps in America as well.

The use of the English word "strike" first appeared in 1768, when sailors, in support of demonstrations in London, "struck" or removed the topgallant sails of merchant ships at port, thus crippling the ships.

"Strike" in a nautical context means:

- a. To haul down (a mast or sail).
- b. To lower (a flag or sail) in salute or surrender.
- c. To lower (cargo) into a hold.

That being the case, on seeing a merchant ship at port with no topgallant sails, one would know that the sailors on board, having struck/taken down/removed the topgallant sails, had struck / were *on strike* (not working).

On the topmast is the *topsail*, often divided into the *lower topsail* and the *upper topsail*. On the topgallant mast is the *topgallant sail*, on big vessels divided into two sails, like the topsail. Topsail and topgallant sail are often pronounced *tops'l* and *to'gan's'l*, respectively. Often there is a sail above the topgallant sail called the *royal*, and clipper ships of the mid-19th century often carried *skysails* above the *royals*. Some even had a *moonsail* or *moonraker* above their main skysail.

On a square rigged sailing vessel, a topgallant sail (*topgallant* alone pronounced "t'gallant", *topgallant sail* pronounced "to'gan's'l") is the square-rigged sail or sails immediately above the topsail or topsails (also known as a *gallant* or *gallant sails*).

The topgallant sails in the photo given below are, to illustrate the point, pink.



The word *strike*, then, was first used in English in England in 1768. In the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys of Pennsylvania, the word "strike" was regarded as new in 1864.

When the strike by the miners that began on February 15, 1864 came to an end, we have not yet learned.

1306

March 5, 1864: Strike of D&H Railroad Workers, Miners, and Laborers in Progress

On March 5, 1864, we learn from an article that was published in the *Carbondale Advance* on that date, (1) that a large share of the D&H railroad workers had been "on a strike for several days past," and (2) that the strike among the miners and laborers was still in effect. Given those facts (railroad workers on strike, miners and laborers on strike), the D&H closed their entire works and shops.

Here is the notice about these work stoppages that was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of March 5, 1864:

"A large share of the workmen in the employ of the company, upon the line of railroad, having been on a strike for several days past, and the strike also continuing among the miners and laborers, the company on Wednesday closed their entire works and shops here. / We believe in the rights of labor, and in measures to promote the interests of the laborer. We have no fear that those that gain a livelihood by honest labor will be too well paid. The better they are paid the better we are pleased, and the better for business of all kinds in the community. But the late strike of the Railroad hands seems to us a grave mistake. We think the step must have been taken without full consideration." (*Carbondale Advance*, March 5, 1864, p. 2) [S. S. Benedict, Editor; G. W. Benedict, Associate Editor]

Remarkably, in that notice, the *Carbondale Advance* (S. S. Benedict, Editor; G. W. Benedict, Associate Editor) took the position that the strike by the railroad workers was "a grave mistake" and one that must have been taken "without full consideration."

Both the D&H miners and railroad workers in Carbondale were back to work on Monday, March 14, 1864. The miners who worked in the mines at Archbald, Olyphant, and Dickson City, which were worked by "Operators" (private owners, not the D&H) were still on strike. That we know from an article that was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of March 19, 1864:

"Work was resumed in our Mines and upon our Railroad on Monday, amid general satisfaction. Everything is now moving prosperously and satisfactorily. / The mines at Archbald, Olyphant, and Dickson, worked by Operators, on the line of the Railroad below, are we believe still idle." (*Carbondale Advance*, March 19, 1864, p. 2)

1307

Workmen's Benevolent Association Founded, 1868

The Workmen's Benevolent Association was founded in 1868 by an Irishman named John Siney, one of Pennsylvania's ablest labor leaders. He was born in Ireland about 1831, and came to America in 1862 and settled in St. Clair, near Pottsville.

The original intent of the WBA was to represent all ethnic groups working in the anthracite mines. The WBA, which was formerly known as Miners and Laborers' Benevolent Association; was organized for the purpose of giving sick benefits to miners and aiding the families of those who were killed in the mines. This organization was quickly turned to the purposes of the miners for consultation in the emergency. John Siney, from the Schuylkill region attempted to create a single and effective regional miners' union out of numerous locals. The WBA was most effective in areas where there were many independent operators and not in areas where there were large companies, such as the D&H. Ultimately, at the peak of its power, the WBA represented approximately 80 percent of the workers in the anthracite industry, and is generally regarded as the first effective union of anthracite miners. In Schuylkill County and in areas where there were many independent operators and small mining companies (but not in areas where there were larger companies such as the D&H), the WBA won some early victories for the workers.

1308

Officers of the D&H, 1869

Who was in charge at the D&H, effective March 1, 1869? In the *Carbondale Advance* of Saturday, February 27, 1869, we read:

"THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL CO.--The following states the same changes heretofore noted in our columns, with some things additional: / The following change of officers of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company goes into effect on the first of March: / Thomas Dickson, of Scranton, becomes President, in place of G. T. Olyphant; Coe F. young, general Superintendent; A. H. Vandling, Superintendent of Rondout department; A. M. Atkinson, of Ellenville, Superintendent of Canal Department; J. B. Fitch of Hawley, continues as superintendent of the Pennsylvania section, including the Delaware aqueduct. / Mr. Atkinson will remove to Honesdale. A thorough repair of the docks &c., here is being made, and workmen are now cleaning out the basin. The canal will probably open by the 15th of March. / The Delaware & Hudson Canal Company are now shipping coal via Honesdale Branch and Erie railroad to all points.--*Wayne Citizen*." (*Carbondale Advance*, Saturday, February 27, 1869, p. 3.)

Coe F. Young, who was appointed general manager in 1869, held that office until July 1885, when he resigned, and his son, Horace G. Young, appointed assistant general manager in 1882, was, on September 30, 1885, appointed to fill the vacancy.

Difficult times were ahead for those D&H officers.

During the war and the years which immediately following there was much prosperity in the anthracite coal fields. There was steady work for everybody who came, the only difficulty being to get enough workmen. Wages were good. It was no unusual thing in the war days for the miners to get \$200 a month, and the wages of the miners' laborers were proportionately high. Everybody about the mines had plenty of greenbacks.

After the war and the disbandment of the army, labor was once more plentiful, greenbacks gradually approached gold and silver in value and wages began to drop. The sentiment was so strong against such a sweeping reduction that there was no doubt about the result from the start. A strike was declared and the war between the companies and the miners began.

1309

Four-month Work Suspension of Mining: May 10, 1869—mid-September 1869

John Siney spent the winter of 1869 organizing the miners in all six anthracite counties. In March, 1869, the first general council of the WBA met at Hazleton, with four representatives from Schuylkill, four from Luzerne (then including Lackawanna), three from Carbon, three from Northumberland, two from Columbia, and one from Dauphin. The delegates decided to find out whether the miners desired a general strike, both to raise the price of coal and to win higher wages. At the second meeting of the council, on April 20, 1869, the members voted in favor of a general suspension of mining on May 10, the first general strike ever called in the anthracite region [emphasis added].

The order was well obeyed except in the district around Scranton and Pittston, where the collieries were owned by the three so-called "Scranton companies"--the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company; the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company; and the Pennsylvania Coal Company--and the men had in consequence much stronger opposition than did those who worked for individual operators.

After some persuasion the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western and the Delaware and Hudson miners joined the strike, but the Pennsylvania Coal Company employees refused to quit their jobs.

In early May 1869, a four-month long strike by the D&H Carbondale miners, in support of an initiative by the coal operators and miners in Schuylkill County, began. From the notice about the beginning of this suspension that was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of May 15, 1869, we learn that "Many of our thinking men express the belief that the suspension has been got up by Schuylkill Co. men, for the benefit of operators and miners in that county, and that our region will suffer an injury, while they reap an advantage." Here is that notice:

"The Suspension. / Mining has this week been generally suspended throughout the Anthracite Coal Region. / Those that have inaugurated the movement, promise great benefits as the result both to operators and miners, both to proceed from an advance of coal in the market. We believe they are sincere in these hopes, but we fear they will not realize them fully. / Many of our thinking men express the belief that the suspension has been got up by Schuylkill Co. men, for the benefit of operators and miners in that county, and that our region will suffer an injury, while they reap an advantage. The result only can determine these things. We are resolved not to look on the dark side of the picture, but hope for the best." (*Carbondale Advance*, May 15, 1869, p. 3)

During this 4-month period, mining and all shipments of coal by the D&H were suspended. Passenger and general freight movement were not affected by the suspension:

"The Suspension. / There is quiet in our mines and but little doing except in passengers, General Freight, and repairs upon our Railroad. There are some encouraging rumors, but we see no movement toward work as yet." (*Carbondale Advance*, Saturday, May 22, 1869, p. 3)

In June 1869, the suspension continued. A primary objective of the WBA at this time was to obtain "basis" (wages for the miners based on the sale price of the coal) from the operators. The small coal companies "in the Schuylkill and other regions below" agreed on the "basis" demands by the miners. The larger companies, such as the D&H, would not agree to "basis". In the June 19, 1869 issue of the *Carbondale Advance* we read:

"Continuance of the Suspension. / Suspension still continues at the Mines of the Del. & Hudson, and Del. L. & W. companies and now seems likely to be indefinitely prolonged. / The order of the General Council of the Workingmen's Association, to commence where they can obtain 'basis' and 'conditions' does not at all improve the prospect here. / Work will probably commence at an early day in the Schuylkill and other regions below, and they thus secure a harvest at our expense, as was probably originally intended by them. / The works of Filer & Co., at Green Ridge are in operation, and considerable quantities of coal from their mines has this week passed over the railroad." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 19, 1869, p. 3)

In July 1869 the suspension continued, at a loss of about \$20,000 a day to the Lackawanna Valley. An especially good analysis of the situation—and a call by the *Carbondale Advance* for an end to the strike—was presented in the *Carbondale Advance* of July 17, 1869 in an article titled "What of the Night?", as follows:

“What of the Night? / We are daily asked ‘What is the prospect?’ ‘Are there any signs of the resumption of work?’ The reply is necessarily ‘None.’ The suspension with all its damaging and ruinous effects has now continued over two months, and there is at present no sign of change. / We have refrained from comment on either the cause or effect of the Suspension, for the reason that we saw no chance to do any good. It is especially the business of the parties concerned. The Miners, whose good we always wish, demand ‘basis’ as a condition of resuming work. [‘basis’ = wages based on the sale price of coal] This is explained to mean a certain percentage of the selling price of coal. We shall not now consider the fairness or unfairness of the proposition. The company refuse to entertain it at all. What is to be done? We are unable to see that it makes any difference either to the Miners or the Co., whether the Miner is paid \$1 per ton for cutting coal, or one-tenth of \$10. In either case the amount obtained and paid is the same, and why should either side stickle for the name. Hence we believe the term ‘basis’ to be a fire brand which interested parties have thrown in to destroy business in this quarter. It is in our estimation an imaginary good only, and a delusion. Men should in all cases be paid liberally for work, and we believe are quite as likely to be so paid without any reference to the catch word ‘basis.’ But the parties that wished work to be stopped in this region for their benefit [Schuylkill County and below], rightly judged that the large companies operating here, and employing over 8,000 men would not be willing to complicate their business and increase the inconvenience of managing their mammoth enterprises by adopting ‘basis’ as the rule of payment. Such seems to be the case.—While the small operators, to whom doing business *this season* is essential, have no particular objection to any arrangement that will enable them to make a little money at present, the large companies refuse to even entertain the proposition. Since all contracts for labor or otherwise must be voluntary on both sides, and neither party, the men or the company, can compel the other, the outlook is dark. / And yet we can see no good season for the stubborn prolongation of the suspension. It looks to us like ‘paying too dear for the whistle.’ It is a loss of about \$20,000 a day to our valley. Is it not invoking ruin upon all parties, and a suffering business community, for an empty name? It is the amount of pay that benefits the miner, the artisan and workingman and not the name under which it is paid. We judge that \$1 as wages is better than 80 cents as ‘basis,’ and just as good as \$1 as basis. The Company may be willing to pay their men more as wages than ‘basis’ would give them, or they may not: If they are we do not see why wages would not be better than ‘basis.’ / It seems quite plain to us that the true interests of the coal companies, of miners and workingmen, and of our whole community lie in the same direction—in a compromise and resumption of business. Whoever and whatever opposes this we regard as hostile to our interests. They are enemies, whether they reside in

Schuylkill, Luzerne, or New York. We have suffered from the humbuggery of empty names long enough. It is time some common sense was exercised. We do not think it would require a very great stock of it to get the matter satisfactorily adjusted in one week.” (*Carbondale Advance*, July 17, 1869, p. 3)

By late-August 1869, with the D&H and the D. L. & W. now willing to paying to pay "the liberal wages now paid by the Pennsylvania Coal Company," it seemed likely that the suspension would come to an end. In the *Carbondale Advance* of August 21, 1869, we read:

“The Long Suspension. / Not only have our business community been very anxious and restless of late under the prolongation of the ‘the suspension,’ but during the past week there has been much discontent manifested by many of our most intelligent miners that had no agency in bringing about the present unfortunate state of things. / Our business men have long been fully satisfied that the question of ‘basis’ was *out of the question*—that the Companies in our valley had been fully determined not to entertain it, and under no state of things would adopt it. This being so it would be evident that it was idle to talk of it, or look for it, or wait for it as weeks, months or years would work no change. / It has been evident that if this question of ‘basis’ was out of the way there would be little if any trouble in settling everything else satisfactorily to all concerned. The Delaware & Hudson, and D. L. & W. Companies have both signified their willingness to pay the liberal wages now payed [paid] by the Pennsylvania Coal Company. / Our latest advices from Scranton look favorable. There may yet be clouds, but there is certainly grounds for hope that we are seeing ‘the beginning of the end.’ ” (*Carbondale Advance*, August 21, 1869, p. 2)

The financial impact on the D&H of the 4-month long suspension was not negative. In *Century of Progress* we read:

“ . . . there occurred, during the canal season of 1869, a long strike of the company’s miners. Although this strike entirely suspended mining for a period of about four months, ending in the middle of September, the net income from the business of the calendar year 1869 was about thirteen and one-half per cent on the share capital, a return about two percent higher than that of the preceding fiscal year. The records of the company give no particulars as to the circumstances under which the miners returned to work.” (pp. 204-205)

The strike ended in early September 1869.

The miners at Avondale, among many others, agreed to go back to work.

Avondale Mine Disaster: September 6, 1869

The Avondale Mining Disaster took place on the morning of September 6, 1869 when a fire broke out in the main shaft at the Avondale Colliery (Steuben Coal Co.; colliery leased by the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company) in Plymouth Township, Luzerne County. The fire originated in a furnace at the bottom of the 237-foot shaft. The blaze quickly spread to the wooden breaker (situated on the side hill, 50 or 60 feet higher than the Bloomsburg Railroad tracks below; breaker built in 1867 at a cost of \$130,000, capable of processing about 500 tons of coal daily) that sat directly over the shaft (to save the expense of hauling the coal from the mine to the breaker). The fire consumed the shaft, the head house, and the breaker. Over 450,000 feet of lumber had been used to wall the shaft and build the 60-foot high breaker over the mouth of the shaft. These buildings were built under the supervision of Mr. S. Kingsley. The Dickson Manufacturing Company put up the machinery. As the only entrance to the mine, the shaft became a useless escape route even if the mineworkers trapped inside could have reached it.

In a newspaper column in the August 31, 2008 issue of the *Citizens' Voice*, William Kashatus wrote:

"The fire quickly roared up the Steuben Shaft (the only exit and entrance to the mine) into the engine room of the coal breaker, setting off a tremendous explosion. It spread so rapidly that the neighboring buildings were immediately engulfed. Telegraph operators put out a call to fire companies in every small town from Plymouth to Scranton. As pumpers and water wagons arrived by train, family and friends of the miners rushed to the scene, horrified by the terrible sight. By mid-afternoon, firefighters were pumping a constant stream of water into a tunnel and down the shaft. At 6 p. m., a small dog and a lighted lamp were sent down in a bucket to test the safety of the burned-out shaft. When the dog arrived alive, a small group of volunteers took its place in the bucket, taking turns descending the shaft. Volunteers Thomas W. Williams and David Jones were overcome by toxic gas and became the first of the many victims whose bodies were recovered. The search continued for the next few days. In the early morning of Wednesday, Sept. 8, searchers descended 300 feet below ground and entered a closed brattice in the east gangway where they found 67 dead miners grouped together.[including William R. Evans and his three sons, two in his arms and one at his feet]. They had shut themselves in, hoping to escape the deadly inferno. Another 41 dead laborers were found in groups and individually in other areas of the mine, having fled as far as possible from the burning shaft."

The dead numbered 110 and included 103 men, five boys, and two rescuers, all of whom died of asphyxiation from carbonic gases. Seventy-two women became widows and 153 children lost their fathers. The disaster was called “A Welsh Tragedy” because 69 of the victims were of Welsh heritage. Over 80% of the miners were of Welsh descent, many of whom were recent arrivals from Wales, with families waiting to come to America. Some of the family names are: Davies, Edwards, Evans, Howell, Hughes, James, Jones, Morris, Morgan, Owen, Phillips, Powell, Reese, and Williams. Sixty-one of them were buried at the Washburn Street Cemetery in Hyde Park, Scranton.

The Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, which was leasing the Avondale Colliery at the time of the disaster, stepped forward at once to help the families of the colliery personnel who were killed in the fire. Samuel Sloan, president, in a dispatch from New York on September 8, addressed to Messrs Storrs, Hallstead and Bound in Scranton said: "NEW YORK – September 8 / Our worst fears are realized. The dead bodies have been found. It now remains for us to perform the sad rites of burial: to mingle our sympathies and sorrows with those who mourn so keenly the loss of those that they love and who were dear to them. They are all our employees, fellow laborers of the same interests. Our directors, moved with deep sympathy and desiring to give every opportunity to the employees to give experience of their respect and sympathy, as well to reverence they had that was smitten down young and old in the midst of life and vigor, and that this appalling event may make a suitable impression on us all, and on the community in which we live: order that all work be suspended and the shops closed on the day on which the funeral ceremonies take place; that the trains be run free to and from the prominent points of the road to enable relations, friends and citizens to attend the funeral ceremonies. You will take charge of the ceremonies and pay the expenses. Samuel Sloan, President." (*Scranton Weekly Republican*, Saturday, September 11, 1869, p. 4)

From the detailed chronology of the tragedy that was published in the *Scranton Weekly Republican* of Saturday, September 11, 1869, we learn that on Wednesday the 8th, representatives of the leading pictorial publications in America at that time arrived at the scene of the Avondale disaster:

"PICTORAL –ARTISTS G. W. Bradford and Joseph Becker, artists of Frank Leslie [*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, called *Leslie's Weekly*], and Theodore R. Davis of *Harper's [Magazine]* are here taking views."

On page 5 of the September 11, 1869 issue of the *Scranton Weekly Republican*, there is an article titled "AVONDALE MINE REPORTERS". The author of that article makes the very good point that illustrators of the present time, 1869, record what they have seen first hand, as opposed to presenting what they imagine to have taken place, based on the written reports of others. In

making that point, the author of that article uses two events from Wyoming Valley history, the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming in June, 1778, and the Avondale mine disaster of September 1869 as illustrations. Here are the two opening paragraphs of that article:

"At least twice in its two century old history, beautiful and picturesque Wyoming Valley, Pennsylvania, has been the focal point of world wide public attention: at the Battle and Massacre of Wyoming in June, 1778, and during the heart rending ordeal of the Avondale Colliery Disaster in September, 1869. In the former instance, the full reporting of the events was at first limited exclusively to the written verbal reports of the journalists and literary figures of the period. Much later, the illustrators went to work on the written reports at hand and accompanied these with drawings and sketches based upon what they imagined had happened from the reporter's texts. / At the time of the Avondale Colliery disaster, we are more fortunate because as soon as the dreadful news was confirmed, the best pictorial artists of the day, especially those from the top metropolitan newspapers and periodicals, were dispatched directly to the actual scene of the calamity to record in their sketchbooks the minutus [sic, perhaps "minutest" was intended] details of the locality and of the victims and the bereaved mining community of Wyoming Valley. Among America's top illustration artists assigned to cover the Avondale scene was Harper's Weekly's gifted young artist, THEODORE RUSSELL DAVIS."

A standard biographical portrait of Theodore Russell Davis is then presented.



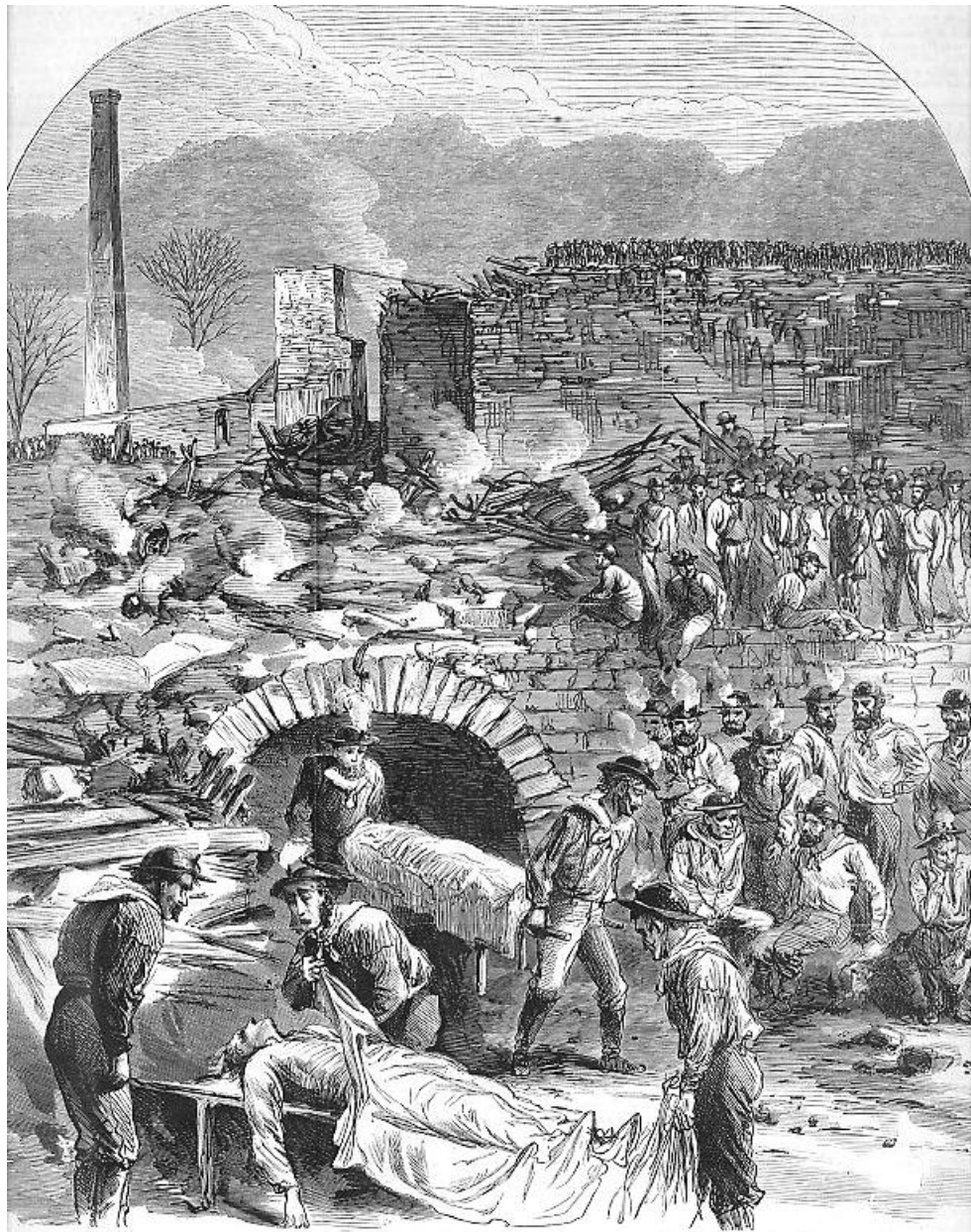
Theodore R. Davis (1840-1894), Civil War Artist and *Harper's Weekly* Correspondent

Following that portrait is the following account of Davis' visit to Avondale at the time of the disaster:

"DAVIS AND AVONDALE / Arriving at the scene of the Avondale calamity on the morning of September 8, 1869, just as the first bodies of the mining victims were being brought up to the tunnel entrance for identification and burial, Davis almost overwhelmed by the enormity and defenselessness of this great local tragedy, took his stand near the center of each scene of the unfolding drama, and etched in his sketchbook the priceless set of ten sketches which first appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, Saturday, Sept. 25 and Saturday, October 2, 1869. For accuracy in landscape, period wearing apparel mining equipment and the actual moments of anguish and grief of individual groups of the stricken mining community, the drawings of Davis are unsurpassed. Davis died at age 54 in Asbury Park, New Jersey."

Given on the following page is the Theodore Russell Davis engraving, titled "The Avondale Colliery Disaster—Bringing Out the Dead", that was published in *Harper's Magazine*, September 25, 1869.

"The Avondale Colliery Disaster—Bringing Out the Dead," by Theodore Russell Davis; published in *Harper's Magazine*, September 25, 1869



THE AVONDALE COLLIERY DISASTER—BRINGING OUT THE DEAD.—SKETCHED BY THEO. R. DAVIS.—[SEE DOUBLE PAGE.]

From an article in the *Scranton Morning Republican* of Saturday, September 11, 1869, we learn that on Friday afternoon, September 10, Pennsylvania Governor Geary and a delegation of distinguished railroad and coal officials and local citizens took a special train from Scranton to Avondale to visit the site of the disaster and to speak with people there. Among the D&H officials were Thomas Dickson, Coe F. Young, R. Manville, E. W. Weston, and Horace Young. Here is that article:

"GOV. GEARY GOES TO AVONDALE. He makes a short address yesterday afternoon at one o'clock. A special train left Scranton for Avondale, drawn by the engine Wm. E. Dodge and containing Gov. Geary and Luther Stroup (his photographic reporter); Wm. R. Storrs of the D. L. & W. RR; J. J. Albright, Union Coal Co.; Thomas Dickson; Coe F. Young; R. Manville; E. W. Weston, D. & H. RR; James Blair; E. C. Fuller; E. B. Burnham, and our reporter, Scranton; H. A. Woodhouse; J. D. Pyott (Honesdale citizen); Horace Young of Honesdale; Mr. Hollingshead, Port Jervis; J. Pinchott and Edward Cudderhook, Pike County; and two ladies: Misses Harding and Hoyt of Wilkes-Barre. At Kingston, Supt. Bound of the L. & B. RR joined the party. On the way, a funeral train of 20 cars was passed bound for Scranton. At Avondale, the whole party disembarked and made a circuit of the various streets of miners' houses during which the Governor was told by Mr. C. Lee how many were dead from each house. The ruins on the top of the hill were examined including the entrance to the shaft. / Gov. Geary made a few remarks to the not large collection of people present. He was glad to see them, but was sorry to do so under such painful circumstances as were made by the great calamity. His heart was deeply affected, those who died, like all of them, were citizens of Pennsylvania. None were so humble as not to have a place in his heart. He would extend to him his heartfelt sympathy and he trusted no such calamity would occur again. . . . / After visiting this portion of the works, the whole party went down and entered the tunnel to its connection with the shaft. Here they witnessed the process of letting a gang of men down into the shaft. They were accompanied by Mr. Davis, Foreman of the Dodge Shaft. They were going down for the purpose of covering the dead mules with acid. About four o'clock, the party started their return. At Pittston, Gov Geary and Mr. Stroup left the train taking conductor Gunnison's train en route for Harrisburg, which arrived soon after. / For a week or more, the Governor has been visiting different localities. He has spoken in that time at Troy, Towanda, LeRaysville, Montrose and Susquehanna Depot, each time to large crowds of people. On Thursday he was present at the dedication of the soldiers' monument erected at Honesdale. Here were present five or six thousand people who were addressed by the Governor."

Nearly a century and a half after the horrific events of September 6, 1869, Avondale remains anthracite's most deadly disaster. The cause of the blaze was hotly debated. Two explanations emerged from the testimony given to a Coroner's Jury. One view held that the fire originated from a spark thrown by the mine's coal-fired ventilating furnace, which acted like a chimney in bringing fresh air underground. The other maintained that someone purposely set the blaze from a tunnel that intersected the shaft 40 feet below the surface.

The Jury chose the “spark-from-the-furnace” cause, while various others—including the *New York Times*, the *Scranton Tribune*, and many from Scranton’s Welsh community—criticized the verdict and argued for arson. They asked whether it was just a coincidence that the tragedy occurred only days after the Avondale workers helped break a three-month, region-wide strike, and that the great majority of the Irish workers (who strongly supported the strike) were absent from the pit on the day of the fire? Some alleged that Molly Maguires were the arsonists. A large number of Avondale’s employees were current or former residents of the Hyde Park section of Scranton. They had been transferred to the mine in Luzerne County about a year earlier by the Delaware, Lackawanna, & Western Railroad, the owner of the mine. Many workers commuted on the daily trains that connected the towns.

"The Avondale mine disaster stands as the worst loss of life in the history of anthracite mining in Northeastern Pennsylvania. Within months of the tragedy, Pennsylvania enacted America's first mine safety law. Among other things, it required mines to have more than one exit, set standards for ventilation and forbid the building of breakers atop mine shafts. / Many of the miners were from Scranton. The bodies of 61 men and boys killed in the fire are buried in the Washburn Street Cemetery in West Scranton. . ." (From an article by David Singleton, staff writer for the *Times-Tribune*, published on July 7, 2008)

PHMC marker on Route 11, near its junction with Route 29, Plymouth Township:

"On Sept. 6, 1869, a fire broke out at the nearby Avondale Colliery, trapping the miners. The eventual death toll was 110. This included five boys between the ages of 12 and 17, and two volunteers who were suffocated while attempting rescue. As a result of the disaster, Pennsylvania's General Assembly enacted legislation in 1870 which was designed to enforce greater safety in the industry."

Avondale Commemorative Ceremony, 2011

A community observance of the 142nd anniversary of the Avondale mining disaster took place on Saturday, September 3, 2011, at 10:30 a.m. at the Washburn Street Cemetery in Scranton, wherein sixty-one of the victims are buried. Many of their tombstones were recently restored and a historical marker installed near their final resting places.

The ceremony, which was organized by Linda Scott (linmscott@hotmail.com) included a color guard, taps, gun salute, reflections, speakers, music, and mining displays and actors. Rick Sedlisky of New York, formerly of Scranton, was the featured speaker. Coal region musician Jay Smar performed. The event was sponsored and coordinated by The St. David’s Society, Friends of the Forgotten, the Old Forge Mining Group, and the Anthracite Living History Group.

Here is an article about the Washburn Street Cemetery and Avondale from the *Scranton Tribune* that was published before the 2011 ceremony:



JAKE DANNA STEVENS / STAFF PHOTOGRAPHER

Trevor Hastie, right, listens as his father, Bill Hastie, 92, both of West Pittston, translates the Welsh on a tombstone at Washburn Street Cemetery in Scranton.

19th century tragedy still earns attention

Avondale mine disaster recalled at city cemetery.

BY MEGHAN DAVIS
STAFF WRITER

Bill Hastie, with passion in his eyes, led a group through Washburn Street Cemetery in West Scranton on Saturday morning.

The 92-year-old stopped at an older tombstone, one with writing barely visible. A father and son were laid to rest beneath it, he said. He read aloud the words written in Welsh, then translated them for onlookers.

Many of those who perished in the Avondale mining

*Please see **CEMETERY**, Page A7*

CEMETERY: Condition decried

FROM PAGE A3

disaster in 1869 were buried together, others in family plots. Sixty-one of the 110 who lost their lives that day are buried at the Washburn Street Cemetery. As most of their family are no longer living, community members chose to come together to remember the lives lost. The 142nd anniversary of the tragedy was commemorated Saturday.

The Avondale disaster happened Sept. 6, 1869, when a fire broke out in the main shaft at the Avondale Col-

liery in Plymouth Twp., Luzerne County.

Linda Scott, event organizer, said the remembrance was held for a dual purpose this year — to remember the lives lost and raise awareness about the poor condition of the cemetery, which she said is “deplorable.”

“We always want their memory and their sacrifice for what they did never to be forgotten,” said Ms. Scott. “It is important that people remember the disaster for the men and boys who gave their lives that day.”

Ms. Scott pointed out the

tombstone of the youngest victim

William Hatton, 10, went to the mines that day only to visit his father, who worked there, she said.

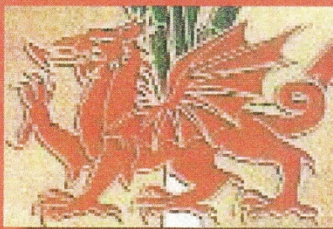
The featured speaker at the ceremony was Rick Sedlisky, who said the Avondale mining disaster hits close to home because his great-grandfathers were coal miners.

“It’s our history,” said Mr. Sedlisky, formerly of Dunmore. “If we don’t keep it going, like other things, it will be forgotten.”

Contact the writer:

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Here is the article by Robert Davis that was published in *The Red Dragon* about this commemorative ceremony:



Y Ddraig Goch

The Red Dragon

sdslc100@gmail.com

Newsletter of the Saint David Society of Lackawanna County

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James Arscott

Treasurer:
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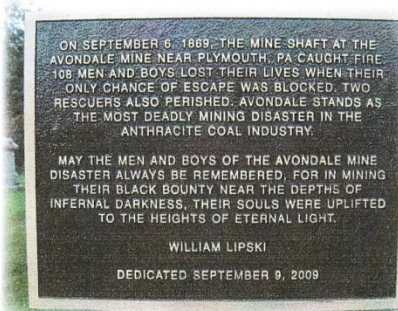
Editor:
James Arscott

The Saint David Society, founded in 1910, is an organization in which people from Wales and Welsh culture can come together with a common interest and goal of preserving the Welsh history, and culture through language, music, and song. The society is a non-profit, non-sectarian, and non-political organization.

Victims of Avondale Mine Disaster Remembered

Article by Robert Davis, SDSLC President

On Saturday, September 3rd at the Washburn Street Cemetery a ceremony was held to commemorate the 142nd anniversary of the Avondale Mine Disaster. The ceremony is held every other year and is organized by Linda Scott. The ceremony opened with welcoming remarks by Linda Scott. Everyone in attendance sang the National Anthem, which was followed by Bill Hastie singing *Hen Wlad Fy Nhadau*, the Welsh National Anthem. Robert Davis of the Lackawanna County Saint David Society gave a few remarks. Linda Scott then introduced the main speaker, Rick Sedlisky, a former resident of Scranton, currently living in New York.



Plaque at the Washburn Street Cemetery

Rick spoke about the importance of the disaster in the history of the anthracite mining industry and in the local Welsh community. Jay Smar, a local folk singer, then sang the *Ballad of the Avondale Mine Disaster* accompanied by his guitar. The ballad contains ten stanzas and paints a vivid picture of the disaster and the recovery efforts. The ceremony closed with the Maine Corps League's gun salute and the playing of *Taps*. See *Avondale* on page 3

Date Set for Saint David's Day Celebration

Saturday, March 3rd is the date set for the next Saint David's Day celebration. The time will be 5:30 p.m. for cocktails and 6:30 for dinner at Genetti's, Dickson City. Menu and entertainment have not been finalized as of this date. Please feel free to contribute suggestions!

Avondale continued...

The Avondale Disaster occurred on September 6, 1869 in the Steuben Shaft at the Avondale Colliery in Plymouth, Pennsylvania. The mine was owned by the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad. A fire started around 10:30 AM in the shaft and spread to the breaker that was built directly over the shaft. The shaft was the only way out of the mine and it also served as the only ventilation shaft in the mine. The miners could not get out of the mine and the mine filled-up with gasses from the fire. One hundred and ten men and boys were asphyxiated. Most of them were Welsh. Sixty-one of them were brought by train from Plymouth to Hyde Park where they were buried in the Washburn Street Cemetery. The Avondale disaster was the worst disaster in anthracite mining history. Because of the Avondale disaster some of the first mine safety laws

in the United States were put into

effect. All mines had to have a second opening, breakers could not be built over a shaft, and all mines had to be ventilated by a fan and not a ventilation furnace.

It is important that this tragedy is not forgotten. It was a major event in the history of anthracite mining and a major event in the history of the Welsh in America. Today the Washburn Street Cemetery is a place that is slowly being forgotten. The grass is not cut and trees have fallen down and not been cleaned up, but if you visit there and see the graves of these men and boys you will feel the sadness that must have filled the valley back in 1869.

One of the most moving parts of the tragedy is to stand at the grave of Thomas and Willie Hatton. Thomas was a miner. Willie was his ten year old son, who wanted to see where his father worked. September 6, 1869 was Thomas' day off. He took Willie into the mine. When they were found, Thomas was holding his son in his arms as if they had both fallen asleep.

To learn more about the Avondale disaster read the book *Tragedy at Avondale* by Robert P. Wolensky and Joseph M. Keating. It is available in local book stores and at the Lackawanna Coal Mine Gift Shop and at the Anthracite Museum Gift Shop at McDade Park.

arson: set by the
Irish
laborers

Page 3



Above: Photos from the burial area at Washburn Street Cemetery

sds1c100@gmail.com

In an article titled "September 6, 2013—The 144th Anniversary of the Avondale Mine Disaster" by Elaine LaGreca (*The Searcher*, Newsletter of the Genealogical Research Society of Northeastern Pennsylvania, Inc., Volume 15, No. 4, October 2013, p. 13), Ms. LaGreca states: "Many of the victims were Welsh mine workers who had come from the Scranton area to work in the mine. . . When I was in Wilkes-Barre in August for the unveiling of the USPS Coal Miner's Commemorative Postage Stamp I was able to take a trip to the Avondale Mine. It had been eight years since I had last been there. Memorial gardens had been added to each side of the mine opening. . ."

Another contact person on the Avondale tragedy: Robert P. Wolensky (representing the Anthracite Heritage Foundation), rwolensk@uwsp.edu<mailto, 715 252 6742

Avondale Commemorative Ceremony, 2014

On September 6, 2014, a memorial ceremony took place at the Washburn Street Cemetery to commemorate the 145th anniversary of the Avondale mine disaster. The ceremony was organized and conducted by the Avondale Washburn 2014 Remembrance Committee (Linda Scott, Rick Sedlisky, Torry Watkins, Robert Wolensky) The photograph on the cover of this DVD was taken at this ceremony by the author, who was invited to participate in these commemorative activities.

Here is the program of these commemorative ceremonies in 2014:

Opening Welcome
Linda Scott, Clarks Summit

Invocation
Fr. Eric Bergman, Pastor, St. Thomas More Church, Scranton,

Welsh National Anthem. William Hastie, Sr.

American National Anthem, Katie Blake

St. David's Society, James Arscott, President

Welcome Remarks and Introduction of Special Guests and Speakers

Robert P. Wolensky, Ph.D.
University of Wisconsin - Stevens Point

Introduction by Prof. Wolensky of
Rick Sedlisky, New York
Washburn Street Cemetery History

Introduction by Rick Sedlisky of
Dominick Graziano, Executive Director, Washburn Street Cemetery

Remarks by Dr. S.
Robert Powell,
President of the
Carbondale Historical
Society and Museum

Steve Kondrad, President, Plymouth Historical Society
Avondale Mine Site Update

Mary Beth Kondrad, Descendant of John D. Evans
Avondale Victim Laid to Rest at Washburn

Floral Placement
Friends of the Forgotten
Northeast Wing, Scranton

Closing Benediction
Fr. Eric Bergman, Pastor, St. Thomas More Church, Scranton.

Gun Salute and Taps
Northeast Detachment Marine Corp League

Here, from the program of the day in 2014, are the names of the 61 men and boys whose earthly remains are interred in three rows in the Avondale section of Washburn Street Cemetery (an eminence in the northwestern part of the cemetery) and in family plots elsewhere in the cemetery which, in the nineteenth century was called the "Hyde Park Cemetery, Washburn Street".

Listed are the names of the known men and boys laid to rest at
Washburn Street Cemetery

<u>Lower Row</u>	<u>Middle Row</u>	<u>Upper Row</u>
1. Thomas Morris	1. Thomas Hatton	1. John Harris
2. Thomas Davies	William Hatton	2. Richard Owen
3. John Burch	2. Thomas D. Jones	3. William R. Rees
4. John Burch Jr.	Daniel D. Jones	4. William Evans
5. William Powell	3. David Thomas	5. Methusalem Evans
6. James Powell	4. Thomas L. Jones	6. William Evans
7. William Harding	5. Thomas Hughes	7. Lewis Evans
William L. Williams	John Hughes	8. William R. Evans
8. William N. Williams	6. William Lewis	9. William Bowen
9. Edward Bowen	7. Samuel R. Morgan	10. Rowland Jones
10. William D. Jones	8. Evan Rees	
11. Morgan Watkins	9. Henry Morris	Laid to Rest in Family Plots
12. Richard Woolley	10. James Phillips	
13. William J. Evans	11. David J. Rees	
14. Edward Edwards	12. David Rees	Evan Hughes
15. William Porfit	13. William Rees	John Bowen
16. John Jenkins	14. William T. Morgan	Thomas Phillips
17. John D. Evans	15. Lewis Davies	Willie Phillips
18. William J. Davies	16. Rees Lumley	
19. James T. Williams	17. Joseph Morris	
20. John J. Thomas	18. John E. Thomas	
	19. Thomas Llewellyn	
	20. Rees Llewellyn	

Other Cemeteries where the earthly remains of Avondale victims are interred:

1. Shupp's Cemetery, Plymouth
 2. Cemetery at Pittston
 3. Cemetery at Forty Fort
 4. Cathedral Cemetery in Hyde Park
 5. Summit Hill Cemetery
 6. Catholic Cemetery in Wilkes-Barre
-

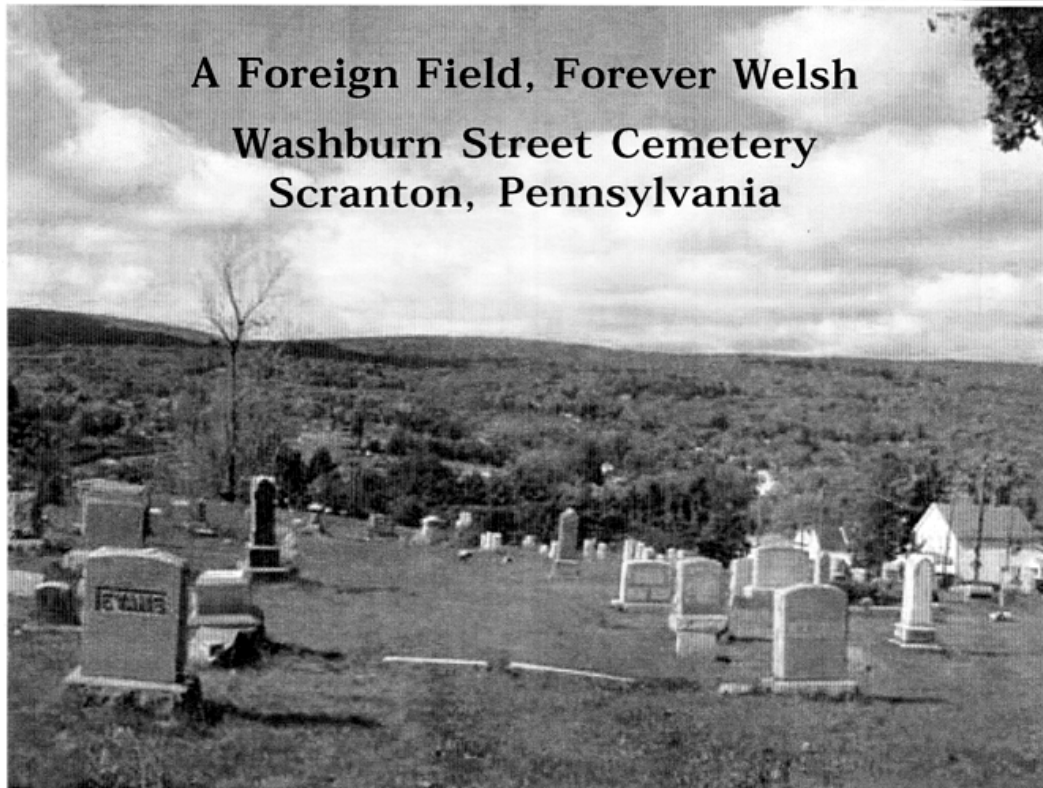
More Avondale material from *The Searcher*, Summer 2014 is given below:



The Searcher

Newsletter of the Genealogical Research Society of Northeastern Pennsylvania, Inc.

Vol. 16 No. 3; P.O. Box 1, Olyphant, PA 18447-0001; Telephone: 570-383-7661; Fax: 570-383-7466; Email: info@grsnp.org



A Foreign Field, Forever Welsh Washburn Street Cemetery Scranton, Pennsylvania

The following article was written by Prof. Bill Jones and appeared in the Welsh Online.co.uk (Western Mail) on Tuesday, 10 April 2012. GRSNP extends its gratitude to the Western Mail for granting its permission to us to reprint the article. Picture courtesy of Elaine LaGreca.

A cemetery in America speaks for the great communities of industrious Welsh emigrants.

It could so easily be a cemetery in Wales. Thirty-nine acres full of Welsh history, the final resting place of people who created what was once one of the most distinctive Welsh communities that ever existed.

Here rest in peace Welsh people of all ages and callings. All around are gravestones marked with familiar Welsh surnames like Davies, Edward, Evans, Jones, Thomas and Williams. Many of the inscriptions on the stones are in Welsh. Apparently, over a hundred men and boys named John Jones and Williams Evans are buried here.

(Continued on Page 4)

A Foreign Field, Forever Welsh Washburn Street Cemetery Scranton, Pennsylvania

By Professor Bill Jones
(Continued from Front Page)

Here to are powerful reminders of the conflicts and tragedies of a turbulent Welsh industrial past. In one historic section lie the graves of 61 men and boys. They died from suffocation underground as a result of a fire in the shaft of the Avondale colliery on September 6, 1869 (the mine only had one shaft and those trapped underground had no means of escape; in all, 110 died). All 61 were buried on September 9 and all the local stores and businesses were ordered to close for the day. The final cortege - 12 coffins and mourners - made its way up to the cemetery at seven in the evening as dusk fell. The tragedy made international news, the Western Mail carrying several reports including lists of the deceased.

people were in the cemetery attending the graveside services, which were exclusively in Welsh. Looking on were the soldiers who ringed the graveyard's boundary fence, keeping a nervous eye on the stunned and grieving Welsh community.

A global history

But, this hallowed ground isn't in Wales. It's reputedly the largest Welsh cemetery to be found anywhere in the USA, and it's possibly the largest anywhere in the world outside Wales. This is the Washburn or "Welsh" Cemetery in Hyde Park, in the city of Scranton in the northeast Pennsylvania anthracite coalfield.

In the late 19th and 20th centuries, Scranton was "the Anthracite Capital of the world" and was in the top 40 largest cities in the USA. Like so many places in Wales during the same period, Scranton was the child of booming iron and coal industries.



Picture of the Avondale section at Washburn Street Cemetery courtesy of Jeff Vesnesky.

In this cemetery too are the graves of Benjamin Davies and Daniel Jones, two miners shot dead by soldiers on May 17, 1871 during a disturbance in a nearby street as a long coal strike reached its violent climax. Davies and Jones were buried two days later.

Davies' infant son, Taliesin, had died the morning of the funeral and was buried in the same coffin as his father. A Welsh newspaper estimated that up to 10,000

No wonder newly arrived Welsh wrote home to say that the place was exactly like Merthyr or Aberdare or Tredegar, to name but three of many obvious counterparts.

Scranton, and especially Hyde Park, where the bulk of the city's Welsh lived, was also the epicenter of Welsh America during the years when Welsh migration overseas was at its greatest.

(Continued on Page 5)

A Foreign Field, Forever Welsh Washburn Street Cemetery Scranton, Pennsylvania

By Professor Bill Jones

(Continued from Page 4)

It may seem far-fetched to suggest that Scranton's Washburn Street Cemetery is the most important place in Welsh history. Probably not many of today's readers of the *Western Mail* have even heard of it, let alone been there. But this foreign field that is forever Wales needs to be remembered and treasured. It ought to be considered as one of the most important Welsh historical sites for several reasons.

First, it symbolizes an often ignored important element in the history of Wales. Welsh history isn't just about the Welsh in Wales, or the Welsh in England. Large numbers of Welsh people have become parts of the histories of Argentina, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, South Africa and, of course, the USA, by far the most popular of Welsh emigrant destinations. Because of a frustrating combination of absence of statistical records and the unreliability of those that were kept, we don't know how many Welsh people in total settled overseas. Possibly as many as a quarter of a million people born in Wales were living overseas at the beginning of the 20th century.

The Welsh have a tradition of settling overseas that goes back centuries and still continues today. In some places they settle in sufficient numbers to make a major economic and cultural impact and give those locations an unmistakable Welsh flavor: the Chubut valley in Patagonia, the former goldfield towns of Victoria, Australia; the farming areas in Upper New York State, Wisconsin or Southern Ohio, and the coal and steel towns of Pennsylvania.

The Washburn Street Cemetery represents the global history of the Welsh. It's also a fitting memorial to those ordinary Welsh people who made up the bulk of the migrants.

Much of what has been written on the Welsh overseas has inevitably concentrated on those who became famous in their adoptive societies. But Welsh emigration is also a rich human tale of hopes and triumphs and failures and tragedies. The kind of stories that finally came to rest in the Washburn Street Cemetery.

"The largest real Welsh community in the world"

The Washburn Street Cemetery also deserves to figure prominently in any list of the most important places in Welsh history because it is a memorial to what was the largest and arguably the most important Welsh community outside Wales and England during the Victorian and Edwardian era. A century ago Scranton was a "household word" in Wales, as the historian David Williams described it. It was probably the most powerful magnet of all those that attracted people out of Wales during those years. In 1890 nearly 5,000 people who were born in Wales were living in Scranton. Another 5,000 were American-born children of these native Welsh. Nowhere outside England and Wales had so many Welsh inhabitants. They also formed a substantial proportion of the city's total population, forming nearly 15% of the city's diverse ethnic mix.

Scranton was also a very important cultural centre in Welsh-American life and its Welsh inhabitants took that role very seriously. In the late 19th century the city was known as "Then Cymru America" (the Welsh Athens of America) because of the richness of its Welsh cultural life. Some of the largest and most prestigious eisteddfodau in America were held there, including the National American Eisteddfodau of 1875, 1880, 1885, 1902, 1905 and 1908, which absorbed the attention of all of Scranton's inhabitants, whatever their nationality, and most of the Welsh in America. According to the *Western Mail*, the 1880 eisteddfod pavilion "presented a very brilliant scene at the opening". Several Welsh Language newspapers and magazines were published

(Continued on Page 6)

A Foreign Field, Forever Welsh Washburn Street Cemetery Scranton, Pennsylvania

By Professor Bill Jones

(Continued from Page 5)

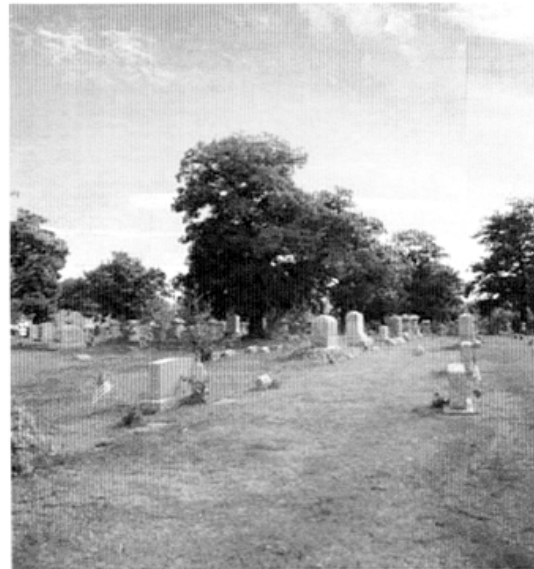
in Scranton in the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, as were English-language ones in later decades. In the great four-day-long World's Fair International Eisteddfod held in Chicago in September 1893, the Scranton Welsh fielded not merely one but two choirs (460 choristers in all) in the Chief Choral for Mixed Voices competition. The Scranton Choral Union, led by the Aberaman-born Haydn Evans, won the contest.

So strong was Scranton's Welshness during its Welsh golden era that in June 1910 the locally-published Welsh-American newspaper, the *Druid*, threw down a remarkable gauntlet. It demanded that the forthcoming Investiture Ceremony of the Prince of Wales, to be held in 1911, ought to take place not in Caernarfon or Cardiff but in Scranton.

Scranton was the best place to host the event, it declared, because "we are the largest real Welsh community in the world. And when Caernarfon was chosen as the venue, the newspaper snootily reposted (in September 1910) that Caernarfon should reciprocate by sending David Lloyd George to Scranton so that he could be proclaimed as the "uncrowned king of the Welsh people: at the following year's "Big Welsh Day". The Scranton Welsh would much prefer the latter to "the investing of a dozen princes", it said. Hardly surprisingly perhaps, the Scranton Welsh community was widely regarded as being top in almost everything but bottom in modesty. And David Lloyd George did come, eventually, on a rainy evening in November 1923.

Buried in his own graveyard

The graveyard's official name is the Hyde Park Cemetery although it is most often known as the Washburn Street Cemetery. But for generations it has been known as the "Welsh Cemetery" or, as it appears in innumerable death notices and



Picture courtesy of Elaine LaGreca

reports of funerals in Welsh-language Welsh American newspapers, "*Mynwent y Cymru*" or "*Claddfa'r Cymru*". Even the Scranton City Directories of the late 19th century called it the "Welsh Cemetery".

During its early years it was a small public burial ground for the residents of Hyde Park borough. The cemetery's first "resident" was Margaret Lynch, who died in 1832 and who had no Welsh connections as far as I'm aware. But from the 1840s onwards, as the Welsh presence in Scranton began to grow, so too did the cemetery increasingly bear an indelible stamp of Welshness.

Fittingly, one important strand in the cemetery's history is the benevolence of a Welshman, Thomas Phillips, a leader among the Welsh and one of the most generous philanthropists of his day. In 1862 the original cemetery was expanded when Phillips purchased additional land for a burial ground. At the time of his death in May 1886, the city's *Sunday Free Press* insisted that "few men are better known or more respected in Hyde Park... To him we are indebted for the pretty Washburn Street Cemetery". Born in Nantyglo in 1824,

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A Foreign Field, Forever Welsh Washburn Street Cemetery Scranton, Pennsylvania

By Professor Bill Jones

(Continued from Page 6)

Phillips emigrated to America with his parents when he was eight years old, and came to Hyde Park in 1854. A fine example of the crucial part Welsh industrial skills played in Scranton's spectacular economic development, Phillips became general manager of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, the largest coal mining company in the area. His life also epitomizes the vibrancy of Scranton's Welsh cultural life and the impact the Welsh made in many other walks of Scranton's life. Among many things he was one of the owners and editors of the Scranton-published *Banner America* (*Banner of America*) newspaper, a founder of the Welsh Philosophical Society, and Republican representative in the Pennsylvania State Legislature in the early 1880s. He was laid to rest on May 5, 1886, "in his own graveyard" as a Welsh-American newspaper put it. His funeral was one of the largest that has ever taken place in West Scranton.

The final resting place of Scranton's Welsh

Welshness burnt brightly in Scranton but relatively briefly. Eventually the Welsh language and Welsh religious and cultural institutions declined as the processes of cultural change and the adopting of new identities gathered momentum. First generation Welsh migrants passed away and subsequent generations regarded themselves far more as American than Welsh and American. And the stream of new Welsh migrants in search of a better life that had constantly replenished the city's Welshness for over half a century dried up in the inter-war years when Scranton, like Wales, experienced a savage economic depression.

In many ways, then, the Washburn Street Cemetery is a striking metaphor for the rise and decline of the city's

Welshness. In 1983 a Scranton resident described the cemetery as "the final resting place of the city's Welsh". When I spent time in Scranton in 1981 doing research for my Ph.D. thesis on the Welsh in America, I often asked people I met "Where did all the Welsh go?" I vividly remember the answer I invariably got: "They're in Washburn Street."

But the history of the Washburn Street Cemetery is not just a history from below, a history that is now dead and buried. A sense of Welshness and pride in Welsh heritage still lives on in many parts of the world, as the large number of active Welsh societies overseas today shows. Scranton still has a Welsh profile through the efforts of local Welsh societies like the St. David's Society of Lackawanna County and the Scranton Welsh Male Chorus.

Preserving for the future

The Washburn Street Cemetery has itself been one of the focal points of present-day Welsh activity in Scranton. Over the years, it has had a troubled history as a result of neglect, poor maintenance and vandalism. Gravestones have been broken or have sunk into the ground and the cemetery is often used as a dumping ground. In the past 20 years local enthusiasts and organizations have worked hard to clean up the cemetery and draw attention to its historic importance because of its links with the 1869 Avondale Mine Disaster. This was the worst disaster in the history of coal mining in north-east Pennsylvania. In its aftermath the state enacted America's first mine safety legislation.

Avondale was also a very Welsh mining disaster. More than 70 of the 110 victims were Welsh, as were all 61 of those buried in Washburn Street Cemetery, among them William D. Jones, who left a wife and four children in Aberdare. In 1994 the National Welsh American Foundation, working with local groups and heritage organization, sponsored a plaque commemorating the disaster, which was erected at the entrance to the cemetery. In 2009 a plaque was also erected adjacent to the graves. The local enthusiasts who are determinedly striving to

(Continued on Page 8)

A Foreign Field, Forever Welsh Washburn Street Cemetery Scranton, Pennsylvania

By Professor Bill Jones

(Continued from Page 7)

clean up the cemetery and draw attention to its historic significance deserve support from Wales.

The Washburn Street Cemetery is 180 years old this year. What better birthday present for this historic site than to recognize it as one of the most important places in Welsh history. This would be very appropriate in 2012, as later this year the North American Festival of Wales, the premier event on the North American Welsh calendar, will be held in Scranton.

The Washburn Street Cemetery's 39 acres are a perfect memorial for us to remember and pay tribute to the story of Welsh people outside Wales in the 19th and early 20th centuries. This evocative field far away from Wales is not "foreign"; it's part of the history of Wales. But it's also part of the history of America. What happens to Welshness when it is transplanted in different cultures, languages and nations is a central feature of the complex and diverse history of the Welsh people.

Finally, the Washburn Street Cemetery also lives on as a tribute to ongoing efforts all over the world to keep Welsh heritage and links with Wales alive. Perhaps Hillary Rodham Clinton, former New York Senator, former First Lady of the USA and current US Secretary of State, would agree with me. Unlike David Lloyd George nearly 70 years earlier, on April 10, 1993 she and husband Bill visited the cemetery.

They were there to attend the graveside service of its most well known occupant: Hillary's father, Hugh E. Rodham, who was brought up in Scranton. His mortal remains lie alongside those of Hillary's paternal grandfather and grandmother, Hannah Jones (1882 - 1952), from Wales.



Picture courtesy of Elaine LaGrecia

Fittingly perhaps for a Welsh cemetery, it rained heavily the day of the burial.

[Editor's Note: GRSNP has an extensive collection of the Washburn Street Cemetery burial permits.]

Who are you, Professor Bill Jones?



Picture courtesy of Prof. Bill Jones

I'm originally from Llandeilo, Carmarthenshire. I'm currently Reader in Modern Welsh History at the School of History, Archaeology and Religion at Cardiff University.

(Continued on Page 9)

Who are you, Professor Bill Jones?
(Continued from Page 8)

I've been teaching modern Welsh, British and migration history there in English and Welsh for the past 18 years.

I'm also co-director of the Cardiff Centre for Welsh American Studies. I specialize in the history of Welsh migration and the history of the Welsh overseas and have published extensively on these subjects.

My Ph.D. thesis and first book was on the history of the Welsh in Scranton, Pennsylvania, "Wales in America: Scranton and the Welsh 1860-1920".

Where's your favourite place in Wales?

Contrary to what my article might suggest, my favourite place in Wales is not a cemetery. It's the Brecon Beacons, where I go for long walks as often as I can. Particular favourite spots of mine are on the peaks overlooking Llyn y Fan Fawr and Llyn y Fan Fach.

*In remembrance of the
110 men and boys who perished
September 6, 1869*

**The 145th Anniversary
Remembrance of the
Avondale Mine Disaster**

**will take place
Saturday, September 6, 2014
at 11 a.m.**

**at
Washburn Street Cemetery
1915 Washburn Street
Scranton, Pennsylvania**

September 6, 2014 will mark the 145th anniversary of the tragedy that took the lives of 110 men and boys at Avondale Mine, Plymouth Twp. in Luzerne County. On that date a remembrance will be held at Washburn Street Cemetery in Scranton for the Avondale victims interred in Washburn.

The Avondale victims' resting places in Washburn Cemetery saw many improvements during 2013. Daffodils that were planted in 2012 and 2013 bloomed in abundance this spring, offering a beautiful spread of the national flower of Wales along the resting places of the Avondale men and boys who called Scranton their home.

A new executive director took the helm at Washburn Cemetery in 2013. He and his groundskeepers have been working



to bring it to a level of care they and we desire. While there is still a way to go, lawns are mowed and trash continues to be removed on a regular basis. Washburn has become a destination point for joggers and dog walkers.

The Avondale disaster united a region and its miners who lived in the anthracite coal mining cities and towns. Please join us to honor the men and boys who perished on September 6, 1869 and to recognize the tragedy that put in motion changes in the coal mining industry for all future coal miners.

If you have any questions please
contact us via email at:
avondaleremembrance2014@gmail.com

***The Avondale Washburn 2014
Remembrance Committee***

Elaine LaGreca, Linda Scott, Rick Sedlisky,
Torry Watkins and Robert Wolensky

People Power at Avondale

by Rick Sedlisky

The power of the people must never be underestimated. The Avondale Mine site in Plymouth Twp. was fast becoming a destination point for those who found it convenient to illegally dump garbage near the location of the Avondale Mine where on September 6, 1869, 108 men and boys lost their lives in a fire that raged above them as they remained trapped in the mine with no way out. Two would be rescuers also perished.

Previous efforts by volunteers to remove garbage were met with continued dumping. It appeared to be a losing battle until security gates on either end of the access road were installed by UGI Utilities.



Picture courtesy of Steve Kondrad

On Saturday, April 27, a cleanup at the site sponsored by the Plymouth Historical Society saw more than 70 people pitch in and remove garbage that nearly filled a 40 cubic yard dumpster. Among those who participated were a large number of students from Wilkes-Barre Coughlin Junior Senior High School. Other organizations at the cleanup included Faith Baptist Church of Plymouth, Luzerne County Community College, Eastern Pennsylvania Coalition of Abandoned Mine Reclamation,

Plymouth Neighborhood Watch, the Kiwanis Club, as well as individual citizens.

Supplies and landfill tonnage were provided through Great American Clean Up of Pennsylvania. The truck used to haul the refuse to the dumpster owned by Northeast Cartage of Hanover Twp., was courtesy of Plymouth Historical Society board member, Albert Dragan. Funding for the cleanup came via a Mine Site Reclamation grant that was awarded by the Anthracite Region Independent Power Producers Association.



Picture courtesy of Steve Kondrad

On September 6, 2014, the Avondale Mine site will be one of two locations where remembrances will be held to commemorate the 145th anniversary of the disaster. The other location is the Washburn Street Cemetery in West Scranton where roughly half of the victims were laid to rest.



Picture courtesy of Steve Kondrad

Strike: December 1, 1870—May 20, 1871

On December 1, 1870, a reduction in the price of mining coal and wages by the D&H was announced. A general suspension began.

Here is an article about those reductions that was published in the December 3, 1870 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*. From that article we learn that the D. & H. C. Co., in early December 1870, gave their Miners notice of a reduction of 30 cents per ton for mining, and for inside and outside labor a reduction to the rate paid for the same in April, 1869:

“Great Reduction in Mining and Wages. / We learn that the D. & H. C. Co. have given their Miners notice of a reduction of 30 cents per ton for mining, and for inside and outside labor a reduction to the rate paid for the same in April, 1869. / We greatly regret this, and regret the probable cause, the very low price of coal in market. / At the auction of Scranton coal, this week, the following uncommonly low prices prevailed:--Lump, \$3.48; Steamboat, \$3.62; Grate, \$3.77; Egg, \$3.98; Stove, \$4.54; Chestnut, \$3.50.” (*Carbondale Advance*, December 3, 1870, p. 3)

Those reductions in wages resulted in a general suspension throughout the Lackawanna Valley. The Miners of the D. & H. C. Co., the D. L. & W. Co., and the Penna. Coal Co., all struck. In the December 10, 1870 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*, we read:

“The Miners’ Suspension. / The great reduction in the price of Mining Coal and wages, of which the several Mining Companies in our valley gave notice a few days since, as mentioned last week, has produced a general suspension throughout the valley. The Miners of the D. & H. C. Co., the D. L. & W. Co., and the Penna. Coal Co., are, we believe, all out. / This, with winter about closing in gives a dreary prospect, except to those that have means sufficient to live comfortably until resumption takes place. Whether that will be postponed a week, a month, or a year, we cannot predict. / At latest advices the miners in all the lower counties, where there was a long suspension in the forepart of the season, were still at work. This being the case, suspension here will not be likely to produce much advance in coal.” (*Carbondale Advance*, December 10, 1870, p. 3)

Through the long winter the strike continued. Though the men had enjoyed high wages and steady work for years, many of them, who had been improvident, soon began to suffer. The retail merchants of those days helped them out; some of the most liberal in this respect became hopelessly insolvent on account of it.

In February 1871, there was another suspension of mining in the Lackawanna Valley, but there was no suspension in Carbondale upon the flats in the upper part of town, along the new Railroads (the Valley Road to Scranton, the Jefferson Branch of the Erie). Tracks were being laid there. Freight and Passenger Depots were being built, coal pockets and chutes were being constructed. In the February 11, 1871 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*, we read:

"Getting Ready for Business. / There seems to be no suspension upon the flats in the upper part of town, along the new Railroads. Tracks are being multiplied there, Freight and Passenger Depots built, coal Pockets and Chutes constructed, and every necessary preparation made for the coming business." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 11, 1871, p. 3)

The coal operators met in New York in mid-September 1871. The meeting was avowedly held for the purpose of preventing periodic strikes, and to oppose the combination of the miners and laborers who suspend work when instructed to do so by their secret council. Because of the suspension, the Delaware & Hudson Railroad Company claimed that it was losing \$250,000 a month, as it employed 15,000 men and boys in the coal mines. The miners were making demands. The representatives of the coal companies, however, resolved, at the conclusion of the meeting, to resist, each and every one of the demands of the men. They determined, without a dissenting voice, to do nothing for the present, and in the future to act in co-operation. In the *Carbondale Advance* of February 18, 1871, the following report on the New York meeting of the coal operators was published:

"THE SUSPENSION. / Important Movements—Recent Meeting of Owners of Coal Mines, Iron Furnaces, and Transportation Lines. Important.—The *Morning Republican* of to-day (Friday) has a telegraphic despatch from Reading, as follows: "It is said that the result of the recent meeting of operators in New York is understood to be the prevention of further attempts at resumption until a radical change is effected in the system of labor." / The *Republican* also contains the following from the *New York Herald* in regard to the important meeting referred to: / Among those present were the following: . . . Mr. Dickson, President of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Co.; Mr. Ewen, President, and Mr. Hoyt, Treasurer of Pennsylvania Coal Co.; Mr. Clark, President of Lehigh Coal and Navigation Co.;--Messrs. Sloan, Pine, and Brisbin of Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad Company. /. . . The assemblage represented in all, a capital of about \$300,000,000 and an annual production of 15,000,000 tons of coal. The meeting was avowedly held for the purpose of preventing these periodical strikes, and to oppose the combination of the miners and laborers who suspend work at the instance of their secret council. / In discussing the subject, the representatives of the above mentioned companies maintained that it is in the interest the producers and transporters, to have a uniform rate of prices for coal, as nearly as practicable, without the / EXTRAORDINARY VARIATIONS IN THE PRICE, / as has hitherto been the case. Some of these coal producing companies, such as the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western, sell their coal at auction, as they mostly rely on the general public, whereas the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company have their regular customers, to whom

they sell at fixed rates. / NOT A POUND OF COAL, / say the above-mentioned companies, has been produced by them since the first of December last, when the men suspended work. The coal companies contend that they have not put up the prices of coal, but the retail dealers, who speculate upon the exhaustion of the product. The Delaware & Hudson Railroad Company claims that it is losing \$250,000 a month in consequence of the suspension, as it employed 15,000 men and boys in the coal mines. The other companies claim to lose in proportion, the Delaware & Hudson Railroad Company being the largest producer. They also maintain that the wages offered the miners are larger than those of any other branch of industry in this country. The representatives of the Delaware & Hudson, Delaware & Lackawanna, and Pennsylvania Coal companies asserted that even at the time they reduced their wages, their miners were being better paid than those in either the Schuylkill and Lehigh regions. The secret council of these regions, however, ordered / A GENERAL SUSPENSION OF WORK / for the purpose of sustaining the strikers by putting up the price of coal and thus forcing higher rates of labor. The companies say that, even at the reduced rate, the common laborers can earn from \$1.60 to \$2, and the miners from \$3 to \$6 per day. The miners, through their organized Grand Council, demand that they should be paid all on the same basis, viz: according to the price of coal. Their constant aim, therefore, would be to raise the price as high as possible. They desire nothing less than a copartnership interest in this product. Whenever a surplus of coal should bring the price below a certain point they propose to suspend work in order to drive it up again. The representatives of the coal companies, however, resolved, at the conclusion of the meeting, to resist, each and every one of the demands of the men. They determined, without a dissenting voice, / TO DO NOTHING / for the present, and in the future to act in co-operation. They deny that the parties who have no other interest than their labor are entitled to a copartnership with the employers. The miners, who want to have their wages based on the price of coal, would keep up a constant turmoil and / SERIOUSLY DISTURB THE MARKET / by the variations that would ensue at the different times in consequence of their suspension or resumption of work. . . "

(*Carbondale Advance*: February 18, 1871, p. 3)

An extensive and detailed synopsis of (1) the meeting of the coal operator in New York in mid-February 1871, and (2) the points of view of both the coal operator and the miners was published in the *New York Tribune*, and reprinted in the *Carbondale Advance* of February 25, 1871. Here is that synopsis:

“THE SUSPENSION QUESTION. / In our endeavor to give our readers a truthful and reliable view of the facts and questions involved in this important matter, we published last week the proceedings of the ‘Grand Council W. B. A,’ and of the meeting of the ‘Owners of Coal Mines, Iron Furnaces, and Transportation Lines’ at New York. / In following the matter up we give this week the following synopsis of the case from the N. Y. *Tribune* of Monday: / PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 19--The most gigantic combination ever made in the interests of capital, was perfected on Wednesday last at the New York office of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad

Company. It embraces every carrying company which enters the anthracite coal regions, the majority of the operations and associations engaged in mining that article, and many of the largest owners of iron works in the Lehigh and Schuylkill Valleys. The proceedings of the meeting were kept secret but it is now certainly known that an alliance has been effected, the object of which is to blot out of existence the various labor unions of the miners, which are famous as the most powerful organizations of the kind in the world. This is to be accomplished by a strict blockade of the coal regions, until the several associations shall be disrupted through the operation of famine. A few operators and companies in various parts of the coal regions are willing to give the wage asked by the Miners' Union, and some even started upon Tuesday last. To prevent the wages which might be paid by these companies and individuals from reaching the miners, the charges for transporting coal have been more than doubled, and placed so high as to bring the cost of mining and carrying above the market price. The policy will be carried out by further advances in the tolls, as prices go upward until one side or the other surrenders. It also enters into the designs of the combination to punish those operators or companies who refuse to be bound by the Anthracite Board of Trade, and who would otherwise reap the advantages of the temporary high prices. The members of the said Anthracite Board of Trade, or Operator's Union, are very bitter against these outsiders. / Such, in brief, is the explanation of the statement published on Saturday, that the tolls from Wilkesbarre to Elizabethport, over the Lehigh Valley and Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroads, has been raised to \$7.10 per ton. The Reading Railroad has made a corresponding advance in its freights, having more than doubled them. The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, the Pennsylvania Coal Company, and the Delaware, and Lackawanna, and Western Railroad Companies have agreed, on their part, not to resume work, even at the reduced prices for labor that they offered last December, until the questions at issue are settled. / Meanwhile the general public are subjected to the imminent risk of a coal famine more terrible than any which they have previously endured. Nothing but a speedy settlement of this war to the knife between capital and labor can prevent it. The stock of coal in and around New York City, outside the small quantities held by speculators, retail dealers, and consumers, is believed not to exceed 30,000 tons, which is less than the ordinary weekly consumption. Of this amount the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company hold about 13,000 tons, The Lehigh Navigation and Wilkes-Barre Companies, 10,000, and the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western perhaps 7,000. At Port Richmond there are some 40,000 tons, part of which, now that the Delaware River is open, is available to supply New York and Boston. / In the coal regions the excitement is of course intense, and violence to property, if not to person, is greatly feared. The Schuylkill operators offer no terms to the miners, and refuse to have anything to do with the Workingmen's Benevolent Association which hitherto arranged all matters connected with wages. On the other hand, the miners insist upon better pay than they demanded when they went out. Both sides are clearly in the wrong. Whatever provocation the capitalists may have had, it is palpable that their course is merciless alike to the public and to the wives and families of the miners. The following is a sketch of the principal events which preceded and gave rise to the

great combination of carrying companies and operators against the Union: / On the 1st of December the men employed by the three great Northern or New York Companies, as they are called here, ceased working on account of a proposed reduction of 40 per cent. on their wages. These men have remained idle ever since. To cement the Miners' and Laborers' Union by the incorporation into it of the Northern associations, which had hitherto acted independently of it, on the 10th of January was inaugurated the most complete and extensive suspension of coal mining ever known in Pennsylvania. It was begun in pursuance of a decree promulgated by the Grand Council of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association at a session held at Tamaqua, December 22, 1870. The object of the suspension, as declared at that time, was to deplete the market, glutted by over-production, that a ready sale might be had for coal mined during the season of 1871, and a fair price obtained for it. But, long before the meeting of the Grand Council, committees of the Anthracite Board of Trade and the Workingmen's Benevolent Association met at the rooms of the former in Pottsville, November 7, 1870, and signed the following agreement: / PROPOSITION FOR ADJUSTING WAGES FOR 1871.—To commence with coal at \$2.50 at Port Carbon. Outside wages to be \$9 per week; inside wages to be \$10 per week; miners' (day work) to be \$12 per week. Contract work, to be reduced 16 ½ per cent. from the present basis, and the reduction or addition of percentage to be graded on the new price formed. The advance or decline to be graded on the \$2.50 basis, at the rate of one per cent. for three cents raise or fall in the price of coal. The committees on the part of the Anthracite Board of Trade and the Workingmen's Benevolent Association respectfully recommend the adoption of the above, providing that a satisfactory arrangement be made with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad company for a fair reduction of tolls. / This agreement was submitted to the different branches of the W. B. A. for ratification, and was adopted by them, but on Jan. 27, 1871, Schuylkill county resolved to adhere to a \$3 basis, by the following resolution of the Executive Committee of the W. B. A. : / That we, the workingmen of Schuylkill County, do strictly adhere to the \$3 basis, so long as Luzerne and Carbon work with us in good faith; if Luzerne and Carbon do not work with us in good faith, that we then make such arrangements as will be best for our own welfare. / The above increase in the demands of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association is used as one of the strongest reasons for breaking up that organization. But it should be remembered that when the manifesto of Jan. 27th was issued a great change had taken place in the situation. On the 7th of November all the great companies were at work and there seemed no prospect of a union embracing all the six counties. The \$3 basis was that on which the Schuylkill miners had worked through 1869 and against a reduction of which the strike of April to August, 1870, was so obstinately protracted. The resolution to stand out for the \$3 basis is also qualified by the clause 'as long as Luzerne and Carbon men work with us in good faith,' &c. / In the Wyoming and Lackawanna regions the strike was begun several weeks before it extended to the Lehigh and Schuylkill. The large Companies operating in those regions had, for months, been paying wages higher than the market warranted, though they did so for reasons of their own, and not because they were compelled to do it by a basis. In November 1870, the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Company reduced the wages of its miners to a figure better warranted

by existing prices for coal, and its example was followed by the Delaware & Hudson, and the Pennsylvania Coal Companies. Their men instantly struck in remonstrance, and demanded wages at the former rates, and seeing that they could not accomplish this alone, they sent to the Tamaqua Council enough delegates to commit that body, in conjunction with the Lehigh delegates, to a general suspension of all the counties, despite the protests of Schuylkill, Columbia and Northumberland. / At the bidding of the Grand Council, all work was instantly stopped. Men who had made special contracts even, in some cases, of such a nature that they received all the benefits of strike while incurring none of its disadvantages, laid down their picks with the rest, and left their employers in the lurch with but a moment's warning. Only in the extreme western ends of the Middle and Southern coal-fields, to which the influence of the W. B. A. had not yet extended, a few collieries continued to work, and most of these were reduced in force by the defection of large numbers of their men. The result of this movement on the part of the workingmen was that the operators in all the regions began to feel more sensibly than ever before how great was the power of their employees and how greatly disturbed were the relation of employed and employers. They realized that the time for final and decisive action, if they wished ever again to control their property, had now come. / A call was accordingly issued, inviting all men engaged in the Schuylkill coal trade to meet in Philadelphia, Feb. 2, 1871. The first business transacted at this meeting was the passage of a resolution closing the doors to all but miners, shippers, and sellers of coal. An exception was, however, made in favor of Mr. Gowen, President of the Reading Railroad Company, who was then invited to address the meeting. / Mr. McGowen said the Company which he represented had \$80,000,000 of capital at the mercy, of the unsettled and turbulent coal regions; that the directors had resolved upon a policy which they hoped to avoid the future occurrence of long continued strikes, and that policy was to adjust the tolls of the road to the condition of the trade. If work was resumed on such a basis that only a few operators could resume, correspondingly high tolls would be charged; but if a \$2.50 or other satisfactory basis was adopted, the road would be prepared to adjust tolls at liberal rates to allow Schuylkill to obtain its share of the trade. He also stated that a meeting of the coal carrying and producing interests would be held, next day in New York, and proposed that the meeting appoint a delegate to accompany him to this meeting, and there represent the Schuylkill interests. / Mr. McGowen then left the meeting, and after a short speech from Wm. Kendrick, President of the Anthracite Board of Trade, in which he recommended careful and deliberative action upon any business which might come up a committee of five Schuylkill operators, and five Walnut-st. dealers (the latter also engaged in mining,) together with the chairman of the meeting as chairman of the committee was appointed to select the delegate to go with Mr. Gowen to New York. It was further resolved that the delegate should have no power to bind the Schuylkill trade, but simply to represent it, and report to an adjourned meeting at Pottsville, to be called by himself. This meeting will be held in Pottsville on Thursday next. / A despatch from Tamaqua, February 19, says: It is rumored that the Workingmen's Benevolent Association and the general coal operators, who have renounced their allegiance to the Anthracite Board of Trade, are about

to institute proceedings against the several carrying companies, under what is known as the Conspiracy law of the State of Pennsylvania. The rumor cannot be traced to any definite source, but it seems to be very generally accepted as correct. / A despatch from Pottsville, Feb. 18, says: The suspension of mining operations in Schuylkill County is assuming serious aspects. Business is suffering severely, and there are loud protests from all quarters against the leaders of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association who steadily refuse to give the feelings on the subject of resumption any consideration. The men have shown their willingness to resume work, and in several cases have gone into the mines, but have come out again, being threatened with personal violence if they persisted in working contrary to the mandates of the tyrants who ride over them. / There are rumors that the furnaces along the line intend to blow out rather than continue work under the present unsettled state of affairs. No basis has yet been fixed for Schuylkill County. The coal operators will not negotiate with the committee of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association until they withdraw many of their claims with regard to action at the collieries, &c. If they refuse, the operators will have nothing to do with the Association, but will ask the men who desire to work to go to work, with the proffer of ample protection, if they have to invoke the whole power of the Government to do so. Outside interests are now beginning to understand the cause of these suspensions and the objects of the leaders, &c., and they can act without being subject to the brutal treatment of the hounds of the leaders, or having their property endangered by the torch of a few bad men who surround them, and who not only control the organization, but also the whole business of the coal regions.—*Miners Journal*." *Carbondale Advance*, February 25, 1871, p. 2)

In spite of the suspension, the D&H announced that the D&H Canal would open about April 10, 1871, if not to ship coal, then to be used as a trout stream. In addition, a law will also be passed, it was reported in the *Carbondale Advance*, to compel the shad to come up the Delaware as far as Lackawaxen, and thence to Honesdale via D. & H. Canal.

"The D. & H. Canal will be opened throughout its entire length on or about the 10th of April. If there is any coal, it will be shipped; if there is none, proposals may be sent in for using the canal as a trout stream during the season. A law will also be passed to compel the shad to come up the Delaware as far as Lackawaxen, and thence to Honesdale via D. & H. Canal.--*Honesdale Citizen*." (*Carbondale Advance*, March 25, 1871, p. 3)

The work of shipping coal should begin now, said the *Carbondale Advance*, but it won't because of the suspension. The *Carbondale Advance* asked, on April 1, 1871: Whose fault is it?

"To-day--April 1st--is the time that has been very often, and we may say, generally, named, as the probable time for the resumption of work. The time has come, but resumption has not. Hundreds of millions of capital, and tens of thousands of men, have been four months unemployed. Whose fault is it?" (*Carbondale Advance*, April 1, 1871, p. 3)

The present suspension, said the *Carbondale Advance* in its issue of April 8, 1871, is a consequence of the WBAs being under the control of miserable and incompetent leaders who have controlled the men to their own injury, and brought them to the verge of ruin. The questions at issue are directly between the men and their employees. They alone can settle them, said the *Carbondale Advance*:

“THE TERRIBLE SUSPENSION. Our long-suffering people have endured the evils of suspension for between four and five months with remarkable fortitude. All have been willing and desirous that the men should benefit themselves if they could. The scriptural doctrine that ‘The laborer is worthy of his hire,’ is always true and the greater the compensation received for labor, the better for the community. Although it now appears from statistics and tables presented before the Investigating Committee at Harrisburg that even at the reduction demanded by the operators the miners would have received still better pay than any other workingmen in Pennsylvania, more even than skilled mechanics, for harder work and longer days, it was fully acquiesced in. All have been anxious that miners should have good pay, for all other interests were promoted by it. The questions at issue are also directly between the men and their employees. They alone can settle them . They would have been undoubtedly settled satisfactorily long ere this but from the terrible misfortune of the W. B. A. getting under the control of most miserable and incompetent leaders, that have controlled the men to their own injury, and brought them to the verge of ruin [emphasis added]. Some wrong-headed and weak-minded men of great pretensions in Schuylkill Co. got at the head of the W. B. A., and at once imagined themselves almost omnipotent. They thought that because they could control 30,000 miners living in six counties they could control those six counties, and because they could control those six counties, they could control the State, and that no politician, no Governor, no Legislature would dare to say *no* to anything they demanded. They supposed in their vanity and folly that the State lay at their feet, and they could rule or ruin at pleasure. They went to Harrisburg as the conqueror goes, as Napoleon went to dictate terms of peace at Berlin. They have returned disgusted with everything—and got nothing. Our miners here have been far too sensible to believe all these flaunting pretensions of the Grand Council, although great pains; have been taken to disseminate such notions, but they have wanted their interests promoted, these men have promised to do it, and they have waited patiently for the result. And what is the result? What has been gained? Nothing whatever. Nothing ever will be by such leaders, and in the way they propose to do it. Nothing ever can be. The laws of business and the laws of nature are directly in their path, and cannot be annihilated, set aside, or changed. They are higher and stronger than Grand Councils, or Governors, or Legislatures, or Companies. The price of labor and the price of coal in spite of

all these will be governed by the law of supply and demand. There is no possible combination that can keep the price of mining coal for more than a brief period greatly above the price of other work, requiring equal strength, endurance and skill. Why was the suspension? What was the first thing developed? Why that eight months mining with the present number of miners in the State, would produce sufficient coal for the market, or that two-thirds of the present number of miners could do it by steady work. What has produced this surplus of miners? Their receiving higher wages than other pursuits would afford. Men that should have followed other business have gone into the mines because the pay was better, and the work no harder. Now, there is no possible law, no association, no combination, that can furnish all these men, and the constant increase that high wages will bring to swell the number, with regular and constant employment at from \$3 to \$5 per day, when men work just as hard in other employments for half the pay. It may be done for a very short time, possibly, by extraordinary causes, it has been so done for a year or two past, but in all such cases, a violated law re-asserts its sway with renewed force. It is hard sometimes to submit to it, but it is inevitable, for an unchangeable law, based in the very nature of things requires it. It is these facts, and the altered state of things that surrounds the case that we have to look in the face. Much as we wish high wages for the good of our miners and the dealers that have generously supplied them with life's necessities during the suspension, we fear it is in the nature of things impossible. In the present state of the case, the Grand Council and its salaried officers are perfectly impotent. They are as helpless as babes that cannot walk without support from others. Their bag of wind was pricked at Harrisburg and has entirely collapsed. Our miners have their own interests in their own hands. The question is now, and always has been, entirely between them and the Company. It is time they showed the intelligence and wisdom for which we give them credit. They cannot do it by continuing this now senseless and wicked suspension. There is no reason based on anything but pride and folly for its continuance. Resumption should take place upon some terms at once. There is no excuse now for delay, or cavilling, or empty boasts. The time for these has gone by, and the time for work has come. Work is now the only remedy for the evils which suspension has produced. / When so large and excessive reduction in price was made last fall at one dash we thought it was too much. We think that had we been a miner that we should have 'struck.' We should have probably viewed so great a reduction as an insult and an injury combined, and our human nature have said, 'No, Gentlemen, no such wages for us!' / But we don't believe that we should be foolish enough to let anybody keep us from work now. At the earliest day possible / 'Our pick and lamp, powder and fuse, / Would be 'inside,' ready for use.' “ (*Carbondale Advance*, April 8, 1871, p. 2, columns 1 and 2; also in column 2 is the article, previously published in the *New York Independent*, by Schuyler Colfax, Vice-President of the United States, titled “The Northern Pacific Railroad.”)

By mid-April, it was reported in the *Carbondale Advance* of April 15, 1871, there were signs apparent to the knowledgeable observer that the present suspension might be drawing to an end. In that paper we read:

“The Miners in Council / The miners in the Lackawanna Valley have been this week in council in regard to the resumption of work. It is a hopeful sign, although so far as we learn no arrangement has yet been made. The *Morning Republican* gives the following account of the interviews held between the committee of the miners and the officers of the Company on Thursday: / **THE MINERS’ OFFER.** / We are not surprised nor disappointed at the result of the conference between the several committees of miners and the representatives of their respective companies yesterday. The time for any lasting settlement satisfactory to both parties has passed. After four and a half months of sublime and masterly inactivity an impatient public finds the officials of the companies beginning to realize the situation, while each passing week has strengthened the determination of their employees. Early in the day the delegates from the three companies met at Hyde Park, where they held a lengthy session. / At 2 o’clock in the afternoon the delegates separated into three parties, the D. L. & W. men repairing to Scranton to meet Messrs. Storrs and Brisbin; the Pennsylvania Coal Company’s men to Dunmore to meet Mr. Smith; and the Del. & Hud. men to meet Mr. Dickson. The interviews or conferences with the representatives of the companies had been agreed upon, and the committees of the miners representing the three companies had determined upon the terms they would offer. It is only necessary to chronicle the result of the conferences between Messrs. Storrs & Brisbin and the committee from the D. L. & W. Company’s men. The men at first proposed to go to work at \$1.31 per Diamond car, but subsequently fell to \$1.25. Immediately after the adjournment Messrs. Brisbin and Dickson left for New York, and the proposition of the men will probably be laid before the respective Board of Directors of the Companies. The subject of arbitration was, we understand, not broached at the conference by either side, and so far as this region is concerned that question is probably a dead letter for the present. / The impression prevails very generally in this section that arbitration will bring about resumption at an early day in Schuylkill and some of the other regions, which would relieve the coal market and reduce prices. / We do not despair of the result. The record of the similar troubles in the past shows without exception that a speedy solution of the question always follows such agitations as are now in progress. A fortnight will probably witness the end of the deadlock, and a renewal of mining operations, unless both sides persist in endeavoring how not to do it. Those of our citizens who were despondent last night because the corporation officials and the representatives of the miners did not ‘kiss and make up’ at first sight reckoned without their host. Large bodies move slowly, and such complications as the present protracted suspension requires time for adjustment.” (*Carbondale Advance*, April 15, 1871, p. 3)

In early May 1871, in Scranton, the simmering pot, so to speak, began to boil, and a confrontation between those who were in favor of resumption faced off with those who were opposed to resumption. At a meeting near the Central shaft, in the rear of Hyde Park, in Scranton, on May 9, of from 50 to 75 laborers (Welsh) were agitating resumption. A crowd of

women, boys, and a few men (non-Welsh), appeared on the scene, calling the laborers blacklegs, traitors, and other such epithets. Gun shots were fired. The sum total of the affray was that three men were seriously wounded, one of them a miner; three men slightly wounded, and two women hurt. A detachment of soldiers appeared on the scene. The Mayor of the city and the agents of the D&H were on the ground soon after the main fight was over. There was no sign of another immediate outbreak, but if the laborers insisted on resuming work more riots would have been expected.

News of a more peaceful nature was then received from the Delaware & Hudson Co.'s men. The delegates waited on Mr. Weston, Superintendent, that afternoon, and made the following proposition: 'That all enter the mines without a stated price, and submit the question of wages to arbitration, the umpire to be chosen before resumption takes place.' Mr. Weston immediately telegraphed to Mr. Dickson, who was in New York, and an answer was expected on the following day.

One of the wounded men was not expected to live through the night, and rumors were rife that a raid would be made before morning on the Welsh of Park Hill. Everybody there was arming in self-defense, and the military had been sent over to the Hampton mines that night. Here is the report on this riot as published in the *Carbondale Advance* of May 13, 1871:

"From the *N. Y. Tribune*, May 10. / **RIOTING AT THE COAL MINES**" / Scranton, May 9 / About three o'clock this afternoon, while from 50 to 75 of the laborers who are agitating resumption were holding a meeting near the Central shaft, in the rear of Hyde Park, a crowd of women, boys, and a few men, appeared on the scene, calling the laborers 'blacklegs,' 'traitors,' and other such epithets. Fearing a more hostile demonstration, the laborers retreated to higher ground, took out their revolvers, and fired several shots into the crowd, wounding William Gore seriously in the thigh. About twenty shots were fired. Then a hot chase began. The laborers running toward Hampton mines and Briggs' shaft, followed by a constantly increasing crowd of men, women, and boys. Shots were exchanged, and stones thrown from both sides on a field back of Briggs' shaft, and several men were wounded. Patrick White is in a dangerous condition and Martin O'Donnell is also seriously hurt. The latter was placed in a passing wagon, and while going through the main street, was followed by a large crowd, and afterward barely escaped. While the fighting was going on, a detachment of soldiers appeared on the scene, but the laborers were going through the woods toward Providence, a distance of about two miles, followed by their pursuers. The soldiers did not follow, but returned to Scranton with some of the wounded men. / The sum total of the affray is three men seriously wounded, one of them a miner; three men slightly wounded, and two women hurt. The Mayor of the city and the agents of the Company were on the ground soon after the main fight was over. There is no sign of another immediate outbreak, but if the laborers insist on resuming work more riots may be expected. The actual strength of the new movement that has been agitated among the laborers for the last few

days is not sufficient to warrant any desirable results. The city is very much excited over the affair, and the authorities are on the watch for further movements. / News of a more peaceful nature has been received from the Delaware & Hudson Co.'s men. The delegates waited on Mr. Weston, Superintendent, this afternoon, and made the following proposition: 'That all enter the mines without a stated price, and submit the question of wages to arbitration, the umpire to be chosen before resumption takes place.' Mr. Weston immediately telegraphed to Mr. Dickson, who is in New York, and an answer is expected to-morrow. The delegates are confident that their proposition will be accepted, Mr. Dickson having not only suggested arbitration at their former interview with him, but repudiated a settlement on the basis of the diamond car, choosing the top vein of Carbondale as his standard, thus indicating probably his intention of acting independently of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Company. / LATER.—One of the wounded men is not expected to live through the night. Rumors are rife that a raid will be made before morning on the Welsh of Park Hill. Everybody there is arming in self-defense, and the military have been sent over to the Hampton mines to-night."(*Carbondale Advance*, May 13, 1871, p.. 3)

More on Edward W. Weston:

"Edward W. Weston / Born Salem, Pa., Dec. 5, 1823--Oct. 28, 1891. Educated Public Schools. Married Susan S. Moore, 1852. Gen. Mining Supt. Later Gen. Real Estate Agt. of D. & H. Co. Pres. First Nat. Bank, Scranton, Pa.; Hudson River Ore and Iron Co.; Weston Mill Co. Dir. Moosic Powder Co.; Providence Gas and Water Co. Dir. & V. Pres. Dickson Mfg. Co." (biographical sketch, p. x, in Dwight J. Stoddard's *Prominent Men*, 1906)

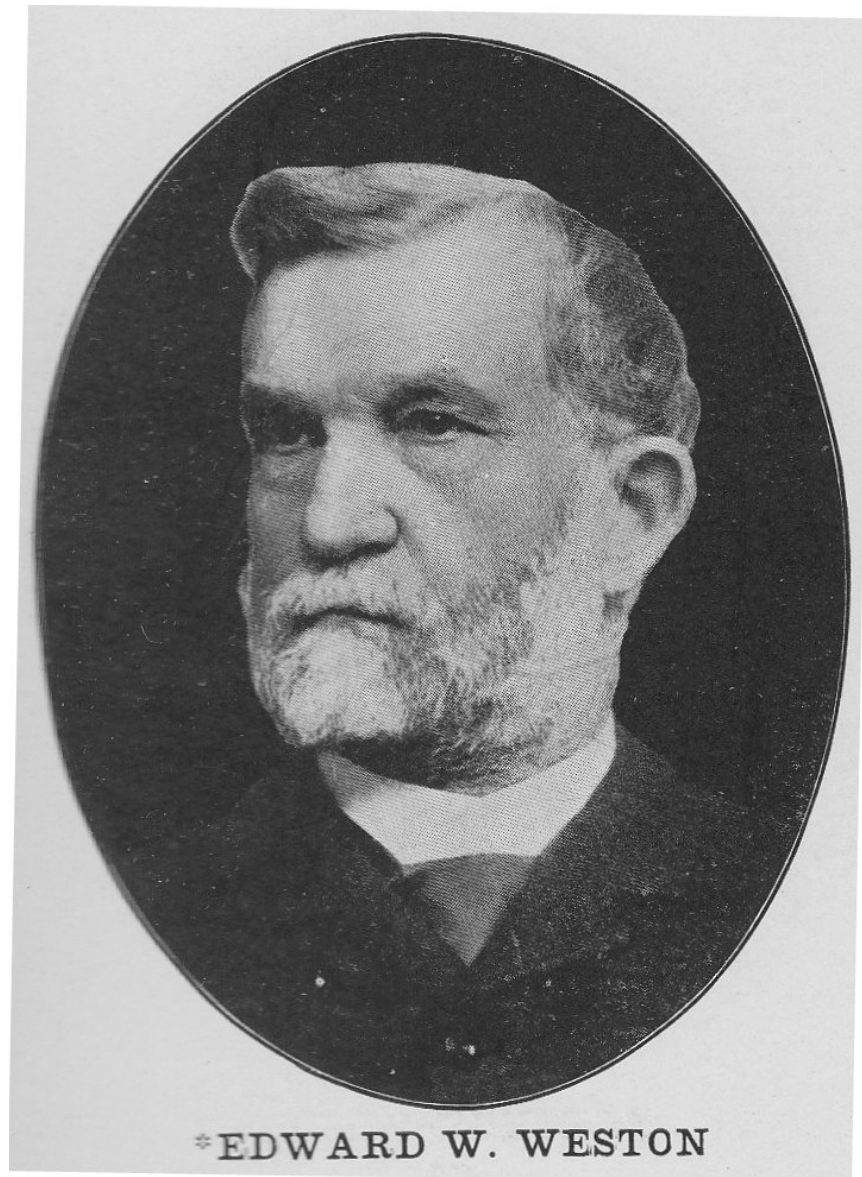
Weston's father was Elijah Weston, an early resident of Wayne County. Weston's mother was a daughter of Jason Torrey. In 1844 he moved to Honesdale and entered into the business of surveying and engineering in the office of his uncle, John Torrey, then the principal Land Agency office in Northern Pennsylvania. In 1859 he was called to the Lackawanna Valley to take charge of the lands and surveys of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.

In *Clark* (p. 164), we read the following about Edward W. Weston:

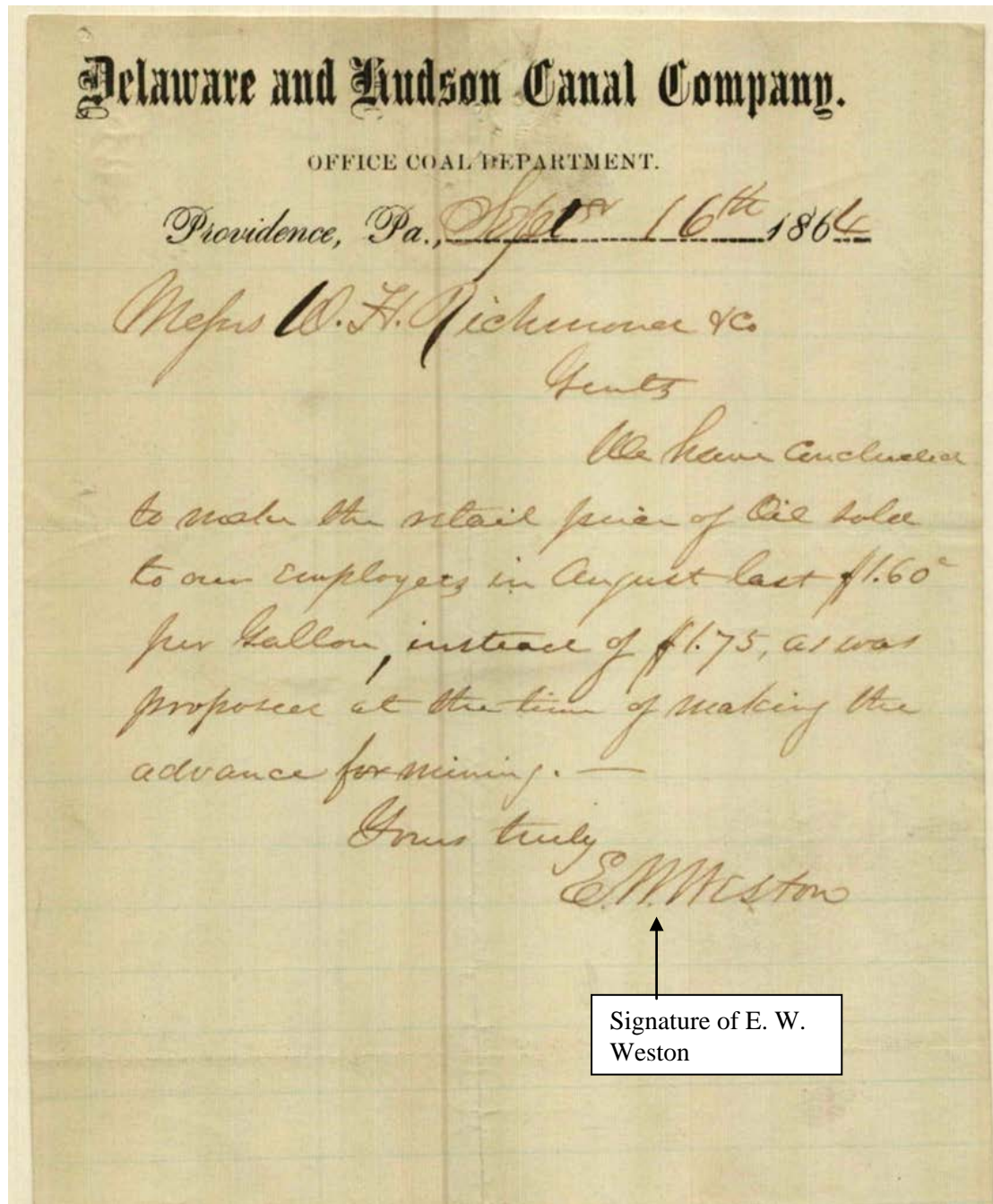
"In 1860, soon after the appointment of Thos. Dickson as Superintendent of the Coal Department of that company, the additional duties of Mining Engineer were assigned to Mr. Weston, and upon the accession of Mr. Dickson to the General Superintendency of the company's business, January, 1864, Mr. Weston was appointed Superintendent of the Coal Department in his place, which position he held until April, 1874, when in consequence of the largely increased business of the company, and the extent of country over which its property and roads are located, it became necessary to separate the Real Estate from the Mining Department. / Mr. A. H. Vandling was then appointed Superintendent of the Coal Department, and Mr. Weston made General

Agent in charge of all the real estate of the company, which position he now holds, to the satisfaction of the company, in every detail. / His faithfulness to duty, and constancy in attention, marks him a model officer.”

Here is the photograph of Edward W. Weston that is given on page 37 of Stoddard's 1906 *Prominent Men*:



Shown below is a letter, dated September 16, 1864, Providence, Pa., from E. W. Weston to Messrs. W. H. Richmond & Co. The original of this letter is in the collection of the Lackawanna Historical Society.



In the Carbondale Advance of May 13, 1871, it was announced that resumption would take place in Schuylkill, Carbon, Columbia and Northumberland Counties next week. In addition, the DL&W, the Pennsylvania Coal Company, and the D&H announced, in mid-May 1871 that they had no objection to arbitration, to bring to an end the suspension, provided the men will consent to the following conditions: / 1st, Work to be immediately resumed at prices offered 1st December, which shall continue until 1st of June. / 2d. In the meantime arbitrators to be appointed, three (3) by the miners and three (3) by the Company, with an umpire to be mutually agreed upon; said arbitrators shall fix and determine the rates of wages to be paid on and after the first day of June until the first day of January next. If the arbitrators cannot agree as to rates of wages (and no other questions shall be considered by them) the difference shall be submitted to the umpire and his decision shall be binding, final and conclusive, upon both parties. Here is this important announcement as published in the *Carbondale Advance* of May 13, 1871:

“RESUMPTION BELOW” / Resumption will take place in Schuylkill, Carbon, Columbia and Northumberland Counties next week. / From the Morning Republican of Friday. / COAL MATTERS. / PROPOSITIONS OF THE DEL. & HUD. COMPANY. / The D. L. & W. Company and the Penna. Company Concur. / In answer to the proposition of the men made to the President of the Del. & Hud. Company some days ago, the following proposition was made yesterday: / *To Peter Quigley, David Aubrey, and Thos. E. Lewis, Committee:* / Your proposition of 9th inst. is received and considered. We have no objection to arbitration provided the men will consent to the following conditions: / 1st, Work to be immediately resumed at prices offered 1st December, which shall continue until 1st of June. / 2d. In the meantime arbitrators to be appointed, three (3) by the miners and three (3) by the Company, with an umpire to be mutually agreed upon; said arbitrators shall fix and determine the rates of wages to be paid on and after the first day of June until the first day of January next. If the arbitrators cannot agree as to rates of wages (and no other questions shall be considered by them) the difference shall be submitted to the umpire and his decision shall be binding, final and conclusive, upon both parties. In making his award the umpire shall be governed by the following conditions: / 1st, The average rate being paid for labor of similar character in other coal regions. / 2d. The value of labor in other industrial pursuits. / 3d. The relative present value and purchasing power of the dollar. / 4th. The price of coal to be considered only so far as it enters into the living economies of the miners and laborers, or to be treated in the same manner as other articles of necessity in arriving at the cost of living. / As an alternative proposition, if the men prefer, we will make an advance of five (5) cents per ton, and a proportionate advance per car over prices offered 1st December. Outside labor per day, \$1.67, and inside labor \$1.83--these rates to continue until the close of the present year. / The foregoing propositions are made with the assent of and are concurred in, by the D. L. & W. RR. Co., and the Penna. Coal Co., and with the understanding that one or the other of the propositions are to be assented to by the men of the three companies on or before the 15th

instant, in order to be binding on the companies. THOS. DICKSON, / President D. & H. Canal Co. / Proposition of the D. & H. Miners. / The following preamble and resolution embraces the offer of the Delaware & Hudson men at their last meeting, to which the above is a reply: / WHEREAS, The President of the D. & H. C. Co., has offered the question of wages, provided we go to work unconditionally; be it therefore / *Resolved*, That we offer to arbitrate with an umpire the question of wages we shall receive, and go to work unconditionally." (*Carbondale Advance*, May 13, 1871, p. 3)

By the final week in May, 1871, work was resumed in the mines of the Del. & Hud. C. Co. in Carbondale and at other points in the Lackawanna Valley, thus ending the worst suspension to date.

"Termination of Suspension. / Work has resumed in the mines of the Del. & Hud. C. Co., at this and other points in the Valley, in the early part of the week, thus closing up the most disastrous suspension we have experienced. Coal cars throng the railroad, and the hum or productive industry prevails on every hand. Elongated countenances are shortened and brightened, and hope and cheerfulness are everywhere manifested." (*Carbondale Advance*, May 27, 1871, p. 3)

Resumption was not universal: the miners in Gibsonburg (Jermyn), in the Hazleton area, and a few other locations and were not yet back to work.

"Exceptions to Resumption. / There seem to be some exceptions to the general resumption of mining. / The miners of Gibsonburg were yet holding out at our latest information, and also those in the Hazleton region. / Beside these there are a few others elsewhere." (*Carbondale Advance*, May 27, 1871, p. 3)

The old wages were not restored, but the miners were granted a considerable advance. The miners of the Pennsylvania Coal company who always had especially pleasant relations with the company were the first to resume work on the new arrangement, and the other miners quickly followed.

The strike, which began on December 1, 1870, ended on May 20, 1871, when the WBA and the operators' Anthracite Board of Trade signed the first written contract drawn up in America between miners and operators. In *Century of Progress* we read:

"This strike continued until May 20, 1871, when the men accepted the reasonable terms offered them and work was resumed."(*COP*, p. 207)

In the D&H annual report for 1870, President Thomas Dickson identified the causes which led to the strike of 1870-1871 said the following about the strike in general:

“About the first of December last, (in concert with the other Companies in our region), a reduction in the wages of miners was made; this action produced a strike, and a total suspension of our mining operations, which continues at this time (April 28th). / The causes which led to this strike, are briefly these. During the war the rapid increase in the demand for coal stimulated production beyond precedent, forced higher rates for mining than was paid by any other branch of industry, and attracted to the mines a larger number of men than could be profitably employed when business returned to its natural channel. / To maintain the then current high wages, the miners formed an Association, which, in a short time embraced the entire Anthracite region, and in the year 1869, resolved that they would not only determine the rates to be paid for labor, but that they would also control and determine the production of the mines and the value of coal to the consumer. This new and extraordinary claim was conceded by a majority of the producers, but was successfully resisted by the three Northern Companies [D&H, DL&W, Pennsylvania Coal Company]. They were compelled, however, by the action of the other regions, to make larger advances in wages than the business would warrant. / With the view of bringing their business again to a proper level, and of equalizing the rates paid for labor with the other regions, the action of November was determined upon. The rates agreed upon were carefully considered, were fully equal to those of other coal producing regions, and were sufficient to yield larger average wages than can be obtained in any other branch of industry in the country. Nothing has occurred since the strike was inaugurated to change the views or the policy then entertained and determined upon. / The system of suspension inaugurated by the men, for the avowed purpose of curtaining the production, is alike disastrous to the Company, to the miner and to the consumer, as no temporary advance in the price of the product will compensate either the operator or the miner for the great losses entailed during periods of suspension, while the consumer bears the burden of enforced high prices, and the risk of having the supply cut off at any moment. / The only safe remedy for over-production is the natural law of trade, and it is the belief of the management that if the suspensions of the last two years had not taken place, and a uniform and steady movement had been maintained, the consumption of 1871, would have been equal to the productive capacity, at prices fairly compensating operator and miner, and furnishing the consumer with coal at moderate and uniform rates. / The only question involved in the issue is whether the property shall be controlled and the policy of the Company determined by the owners, or whether it shall be committed to the care and direction of an irresponsible organization, and in determining this question the managers are strong in the belief that the stockholders can have but one opinion.” (*COP*, pp. 206-207)

1312

Knights of Labor

The Knights of Labor became active in the anthracite field as early as 1871. Organized in Philadelphia as a secret organization in 1869, the KOL went public in 1878. Under the leadership of Terence Powderly, a machinist by trade, the KOL accepted members of the 'producing classes' regardless of occupation, nationality, race, religion, or sex. Explicitly barred from membership were bankers, stockbrokers, lawyers, liquor dealers, and gamblers. It won a major railway strike in 1885 and in 1886 succeeded in electing several independent political candidates. The members of the KOL were largely Irish. The English, Welsh, and German miners did not want to belong to the same union as the Irish.

1313

Back to Work: May 1871

With the strike over, coal-laden cars commenced running again in early June 1871. Coal tonnage amounts, however, were down almost 1,000,000 tons from the production amounts at June 1870:

“The Coal Deficiency. Since coal-laden cars commenced running a few days since, they have run pretty briskly, but it will be seen by this week's statement, that the Del. & Hud. Co. are short almost 1,000,000 tons of the production of last year to this time. It is no wonder that money is scarce in our valley.” (*Carbondale Advance*, June 3, 1871, p. 3)

D&H Valley Road opens:

July 4, 1871: the D&H railroad in the Lackawanna Valley between Carbondale and Scranton was opened as a locomotive-operated road. See Volume X in this series: *The Steam Line from Carbondale to Scranton (the Valley Road)*.

During June, July, and August 1872, the Cold Brook mines in Carbondale were again idle. (Language note: In later years, these “Cold” Brook mines were called “Coal” Brook mines.)

During the 1872, suspension, the mechanics were not forced to lie idle, and the gravity road ran as usual to convey coal from the mines down the valley to Honesdale. Those facts we have learned from the article in the *Carbondale Leader* of February 12, 1876 ("The Suspension") about the suspension of mining in 1876. Therein we read the following about the suspension in 1872:

"The suspension of work in a portion of the mines in Carbondale for the space of three months during the summer of 1872, threw a large number of men and boys out of employment, but many of them found work in other places and on the farms for miles around, where they got fair wages for their work. The mechanics were not forced to lie idle at that time, and the gravity road ran as usual to convey coal from mines down the valley to Honesdale." (*Carbondale Leader*, February 12, 1876, p. 3)

In June 1872, in addition, the Lackawanna Breaker was also not working. As such, nearly one half of the miners in Carbondale, as well as many outside hands, were out of employment. Work at one of the Olyphant shafts was also suspended:

"A Breaker Thrown Idle. / We regret to say that the Del. & Hud. C. Co. have ordered a suspension of work for the present at the Lackawanna Breaker here. This will throw nearly one half of our miners and many outside hands out of employment and is a very serious calamity. / One of the Olyphant Shafts is also suspended. / We believe an over production of coal, and consequent low prices, is the only cause." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 1, 1872, p. 3)

Production figures for the period that ended July 27, 1872, were significantly higher than for the same period in 1871:

"As of July 27, 1872, the D&H had shipped 1,459,911 tons of coal. For the same period in 1871, the company shipped 633, 846 tons. (*Carbondale Leader*, August 10, 1872, p. 3).

In early November 1872, it was reported in the *Carbondale Leader* that the D&H had orders for two months ahead. On account of not having a sufficient number of cars and locomotives, the D&H was unable to fill their orders as fast as they came.

"The D. & H. C. Co. has orders for coal north and south two months ahead. On account of not having a sufficient number of cars and locomotives, they have been unable to fill their orders as fast as they came. New engines and cars are building as rapidly as possible, and before many months they will be able to fill orders more promptly." (*Carbondale Leader*, November 9, 1872, p. 3)

Coal shipment numbers, as of November 29, 1872, when the D&H Canal closed for the season, were significantly higher for 1872 than for 1871:

“The Honesdale *Citizen* says: ‘The D. & H. Canal closed on Friday last. During the present season 1,387,800 tons of coal have been shipped from Honesdale. Last year the amount was 991,825 tons, showing an increase of 395,975 tons. There is still piled here 82,285 tons. Since Jan. 1st, 1872, there have been shipped from Honesdale via Honesdale Branch Railroad, 509,498 tons, making a total shipment from this point of 1,897,298 tons. In addition to this the company have been heavy shippers over other roads controlled by them.’ “(*Carbondale Leader*, December 7, 1872, p. 3)

D&H coal shipments for 1871-1872 were significantly higher than for 1870-1871:

“END OF THE COAL YEAR.—The anthracite coal year of most of the larger coal-carrying companies, expired with the 30th of November last, hence we are now on a new coal year from the 1st ult. The tonnage of the year 1871-‘72 foots up as follows, compared with the 1870-‘71: / . . Del. & Hud. Canal 1,728,839 [1870-‘71] 2,658,830 [1871-‘72] / There are several small carrying companies [not included in the listing of the ten others besides the D&H in the article] whose tonnage for the year, added to the above, swells the aggregate to 17,874,493 tons, against 14,375,075 tons in the previous year, being an increase in the anthracite tonnage of 3,499,718 tons. . . (*Carbondale Leader*, January 4, 1873, p. 3)

During the final week of January 1873, there was in Carbondale, the *Carbondale Leader* reported, lots of "whining and croaking" about the mines being idle.

“The first number of *The Leader* was issued on the first of June, 1872. From that time until the first of September following, three months, the mines in this vicinity were idle. People kept right about their business, and during those three months not as much whining and croaking was heard as there has been in the past week. The habit has become chronic with many, and we presume they cannot help it.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 29, 1873, p. 3)

1314

The Panic of 1873

The panic of 1873-1879 was one of the worst in the history of the nation. It was a consequence of a post-Civil War economic surge which, in turn, set off a wave of speculation the likes of which this nation had never seen. Government was corrupt, fraudulent business dealings were commonplace, and many of the nation's leading entrepreneurs had built their empires on worthless paper. Americans fell deeper into debt, as more and more capital was transferred from production to speculation. At the forefront was Jay Cooke, who had been made a junior partner in a leading Philadelphia banking house by age 21 and went on to help finance the Civil War. On September 17, 1873, Cooke's banking house collapsed, the New York Stock Exchange closed its doors for ten days, and the United States slid into a depression. Five thousand commercial

houses failed in 1873, 5,830 in 1874, 7,740 in 1875, 9,092 in 1876, almost 9,000 in 1877, and 10,478 in 1878. Factories closed and thousands lost their jobs. Nearly three hundred of approximately seven hundred iron and steel plants in America closed down. Of the country's 364 railroads, 89 went into the hands of receivers and the building of new mileage was largely suspended, throwing a half million laborers out of work. Working conditions and wages for anthracite miners worsened.

A total of 18,000 businesses failed between 1873 and 1875. Unemployment reached 14% by 1876. By 1878 the country swarmed with "tramps" and "hobos." The depression hit most heavily farmers who had over-extended their operations during flush years. During the decade 1870-1880, thousands of Pennsylvania farmers migrated to the West. Between 1880 and 1890 there was a furor over the number of abandoned farms in Pennsylvania. The chief way to make money from agriculture in Pennsylvania between 1870 and the end of the century was in the production of perishable articles (fruit and milk). The years 1897 to 1914 were relatively prosperous for Pennsylvania farmers.

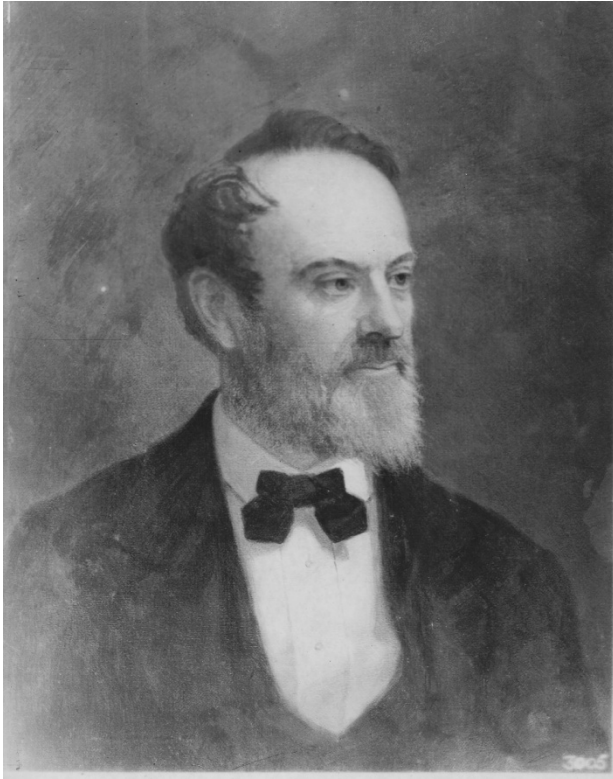
By 1878 the clouds began to lift and the following year the depression gave way to good times. The end of the crisis coincided with the beginning of the great wave of immigration into the United States which lasted until the early 1920s.

The innate courage and resourcefulness of the American people never were better exemplified than in the Centennial Exposition, which opened in what is now Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, on May 10, 1876. In spite of the prevailing economic distress it was a marked success; the industrial and mechanical exhibits were outstanding and the agricultural exhibits were of astonishing scope. The Exposition stimulated interest in more efficient farming, especially the use of labor-saving machinery.

In 1873, the D. & H. C. Co. issued 50,000 shares of new stock:

“ . . .this addition to the capital having been authorized by the stockholders at the annual meeting held as long ago as May 12th, 1868. This new issue of stock is for the purchase and construction, among other objects, of other railroads to the north of this city [Troy, NY], which will form the continuation of one of those now existing, and which will contribute to the business and prosperity of Troy.” (*Carbondale Leader*, March 15, 1873, p. 2).

On April 24, 1873, George Talbot Olyphant, D&H ex-president and still manager, died. On May 10, 1873, Robert M. Olyphant, a younger brother of George Talbot Olyphant, was elected a Manager to fill the place made vacant by the decease of his brother. Eleven years later Robert M. Olyphant was elected the sixth president of the D&H.



George Talbot Olyphant
Fourth D&H President



Robert M. Olyphant
Sixth D&H President

Here is the obituary of Robert M. Olyphant from the *New York Times* of May 4, 1919:

"ROBERT M. OLYPHANT DIES AT 93 YEARS Es-President of Delaware & Hudson Railroad Was the Oldest Alumnus of Columbia. Robert Morrison Olyphant, honorary Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad, of which he had been President for twenty years before his retirement from active life, died yesterday at his home, 160 West Fifty-ninth Street, in his ninety-fourth year. Mr. Olyphant was the oldest alumnus of Columbia University and the oldest member of the St. Andrew Society of the State of New York, an organization he joined in 1846. / He was born Sept. 9, 1824, the son of David W. C. Olyphant and Anne Archer Olyphant. His father was a New York merchant in the East India trade and was the son of Dr. David Olyphant, who came to Charleston, S. C., soon after the battle of Culloden, and later, in 1776, was appointed Director General of Hospitals. Robert Morrison Olyphant was named for Robert Morrison, who was a famous missionary to China. He entered Columbia with the class of 1843 and was graduated a year ahead of his class. / His father was then the senior member of the firm of Talbot, Olyphant & Co., and Mr. Olyphant joined the

company. In 1844 he made a trip to China, and, returning, married Miss Sophia Vernon of Newport, R. I., and upon her death he was married to her younger sister, Anne Vernon. Of ten children, Mr. Olyphant is survived by his son, Robert Olyphant of this city, and a daughter, Mrs. George Caspar Kellogg of Plattsburg, J. Y. / Mr. Olyphant reorganized his father's company in 1858 and again visited the Orient. He retired from the mercantile trade in 1873. Long after his retirement Mr. Olyphant became assistant to the President of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad. He was elected to a Vice Presidency of the road, and later became President. Upon his retirement in 1903 he was elected honorary Chairman of the Executive Committee. / Mr. Olyphant was a Fellow of the National Academy of Design and helped raise the funds for the erection of the first Academy building. He was deeply interested in art, and for many years was a patron of the Canton Christian Church in China."

The sale in May 1873 by the D&H of lots on Dundaff Street in Carbondale was, it appears, a controversial matter. In the *Carbondale Advance* of May 15, 1873, we read:

"The Dundaff Street Lots. / John Robertson, Esq., D. & H. C. Co's Local Land Agent, informs us that the Dundaff street lots, the sale of which we noted last week, have been secured as follows: 40 ft. front by the Masons, 25ft. do. by Judge Harrison, and balance by Mr. Andrew Watt. / P. S.—Mr. R. informs us that owing to discussions among those who desired the Lots, all have been withdrawn from the market for the present, except the two lots of 25 feet front each, sold to the Masons." (*Carbondale Advance*, May 15, 1873, p. 3)

On August 1, 1873, the D&H declared a dividend of five per cent, payable on the first of August.

"The D. & H. C. Co. has declared a dividend of five per cent, payable on the first of August." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 19, 1873, p. 3)

Beginning in July 1873, it was announced in the *Carbondale Leader* of June 28, 1873, all the mines throughout the valley will be worked on three-quarter time. In addition, shipments of coal by the D&H and the DL&W, among others, will be reduced by one- fourth.

"REDUCTION.—It is reported that all the mines throughout the valley will be worked on three-quarter time after this month. The D. & H. C. Co., D. L. & W. Co., and other great companies down the valley have concluded to reduce the shipments of coal one-fourth. How long it will last we are unable to say. We are sorry to hear of this reduction, as it will doubtless cause a depression in business generally. However, if there is a reduction of only twenty-five per cent. in the amount of coal mined during the summer, business ought to be much better in the city than it was last summer when the Cold Brook mines were all idle for the three months of June, July, and August. Though we would rather see the mines worked full, and the miners receive a full

month's pay each month, at the same time we must content ourselves, and be thankful that business of every kind is as good as it is." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 28, 1873, p. 3)

On Monday, July 14, 1873, the miners employed by the D. & H. C. Co. at their mines in the vicinity of Carbondale were paid their monthly wages.

"The miners employed by the D. & H. C. Co. at their mines in this vicinity, were paid their monthly wages last Monday. Those who claim to know, say that money is not so plenty as it was a month ago, and that bills are not paid as readily. Probably many are looking ahead a month, remembering that the pay next month will be only three-quarters of what it was this, and saving dollars that would have been spent if the mines were all worked on full time." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 19, 1873, p. 3)

1315

Molly Maguires, Part I: James McParland hired by Franklin B. Gowen, October 1873

Given below is Part I of our two-part look herein at the Molly Maguires.

By the late 1860s and early 1870s, a reign of terror existed in the anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania, primarily in Schuylkill, Carbon, Luzerne, Columbia, and Northumberland Counties. This organized crime (murder, arson, every description of violent crime) was carried out by a group known as the Molly Maguires, who killed their victims almost entirely for revenge.

Who were these Molly Maguires? They were an ethno-religious secret society whose members were Irish Catholics and members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. (Every member of the AOH, to be sure, was not a Molly Maguire, but every Molly was a member of the AOH.)

In Allan Pinkerton's *The Molly Maguires and the Detectives* (New York: G. W. Carleton & Co., Publishers, 1877) the Honorable Franklin B. Gowen, in his celebrated address against the Molly Maguires at the trial of Thomas Munley at Pottsville, June 28—July 12, 1876, referencing a book by Trench titled *Realities of Irish Life*, says the following about the Mollie Maguires (pp. 518-519):

"It [the organization know as Mollie Maguires] was known as the Ribbonmen of Ireland. It sprang up at a time when there was an organized resistance in Ireland to the payment of rents. The malcontents became known as Ribbonmen, and they generally made their attacks upon the agents of the non-resident landowners [mostly Irish Protestants, or persons from Scotland, England, and Wales], or upon the constables or bailiffs who attempted to collect the rents. Their object was to intimidate and hold in terror all those to whom they owed money or who were employed in its collection. As a branch of this society and growing out of it, sprang the men known as Mollie Maguires, and the name of their society simply arose from this circumstance, that, in the perpetration of their offenses, they dressed as women, and generally ducked or beat their victims, or inflicted some such punishment as infuriated women would be likely to administer."

Their victims were frequently shopkeepers. Though the disguise was not intended to fool anyone, it was meant to represent—to the storekeeper from whom handouts or price reductions were demanded—the poor Irish mother begging for food to put on her children's table. The female disguises used by the Irish Mollys in their intimidations and acts of violence gave rise to their name.

In some areas the terms *Ribbonmen* and *Molly Maguires* were used interchangeably (i.e., blended into one identity). The main distinction between the two appears to be that the Ribbonmen were regarded as "secular, cosmopolitan, and protonationalist", with the Molly Maguires considered "rural, local, and Gaelic". The Molly Maquies were also known as "Buck Shots", "Black Hand", and "Black-riflemen".

Molly Maguire is said to have been an actual woman, a widow, who would not leave her cottage when a non-resident landowner attempted to remove her for her Catholicism. "Take that from a son of Molly Maguire!" was often heard before a person of authority was assaulted by a Molly Maguire.

This reprehensible behavior (using violence and terrorism to accomplish their ends) was transferred to the anthracite coal fields by Irish immigrants. Here, mine officials, superintendents, and bosses were everywhere and at all times attacked, beaten, and shot down, by day and by night, on the public highways and in their own homes, in solitary places and in the neighborhood of crowds. Any personal slight, reduction in wages, adverse change in working conditions, or imagined grievance against a Molly could inspire a revengeful house burning or cold-blooded murder. They inflicted horror on police, mine supervisors and owners by blowing up railroad cars full of coal, organizing riots, sending out threats to everyone who spoke out against them.

Each mining village in which the AOH had a presence was regarded as a division/"body", with its own body master, treasurer, secretary, and register of outstanding members/"brethren." (The body master for Schuylkill County was John "Black Jack" Kehoe, also known as "The King of the Mollies." Alexander Campbell was body master of the AOH in the Lansford area.) The divisions met regularly to discuss alleged grievances and to formulate plans of action/retribution (from a beating to murder).

The Mollys developed a system of reciprocity for their violence. Typically, the body-master of one "district" would ask the body-master of a nearby district to send a team of men over to carry out the murder. (The reciprocal system was designed to make identification of the perpetrators less likely.) The members of the local group would be informed of the time and place of planned on retribution and would establish air-tight alibis for themselves. These outside hit men would perform the act, and then disappear. Returns of favors granted were regularly granted. After successful completion of a violent mission, assassins usually received a small monetary reward and were treated to a drunken revel.

Violent crimes and lawlessness were all too common in the southern anthracite fields in the 1860s and 1870s. In A. Monroe Aurand, Jr.'s *HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES Origin, Depredation and Decay of a Terrorist Secret Organization in the Pennsylvania Coal Fields During and Following the Civil War*, we read:

"Mobs Make Havoc.—One thousand comprised a motley crew of men who stopped work at several mines near Mahanoy City on July 3, 1875. At Shenandoah the same tactics succeeded in stopping work. The gang nearly derailed a night passenger train at the latter place. At Mount Carmel a breaker went up in smoke the same night. Two contractors were shot at Oakdale a few days later." (p. 6)

These mobs were a constant problem for the railroads, and "for a time an armed posse loaded on a single locomotive preceded every passenger train through the mining districts. / Station agents, watchmen, and others were beaten time and again. The main tracks were obstructed with loaded cars, etc.; warehouses were plundered; switches were misplaced. / . . . It was likely that at every forest or woods and cut along the rail lines men lay in wait to shoot at passengers as well as trainmen. In those days an engineer had to be good—at driving his locomotive, and at the same time shooting a revolver at sight of a waiting assassin." (*Aurand*, pp. 6-7)

The Molly Maguires, too, were instrumental in the draft riots that took place, beginning in the summer of 1862, when the government proposed its first draft for filling up the ranks of the army.

In 1864, eleven mine bosses involved in labor disputes of one sort or another were killed in Schuylkill County. In 1865-1866, five more mine managers or bosses were shot and killed in the coal region.

Aurand (pp. 11-12) enumerates an astonishing series of violent crimes in the anthracite coal fields in the 1860s and 1870s:

Deaths, Day After Day. — July 14, 1862, F. W. S. Langdon, breaker boss, was found in a dying condition near Audenreid.

November 5, 1863, George K. Smith, a surveyor and mining engineer, was murdered in his own house, and in the presence of his family. He was suspected of furnishing information to the U. S. officials that made the draft for army needs.

March 30, 1867, the "Miner's Journal" published a list of fifty murders, committed in Schuylkill county between January 1, 1863, and March 30, 1867, more than one-half were committed by unknown persons, and of men more or less prominent.

January 10, 1867, Henry R. Dunne was murdered on a public road within two miles of Pottsville. He was superintendent of the New York and Schuylkill Coal Company's collieries. He was a well-liked man, but despite all the efforts of the detectives assigned to run down the murderers, no trace of them was found.

On the night of February 11, 1867, the house of John C. Northall, a coal operator at Tuscarora, in Schuylkill county, was attacked by a body of men, who fired into the windows of his bed-room. Mr. Northall was away from home, but the neighbors

gathered and the assailants fled, leaving behind them the body of one of their number. He was identified as one John Donohue, who was (unofficially) known to have taken part in the assault on George K. Smith, but his identification seemed to open up no clue, and it is significant of the state of society which prevailed at the time that one of the rescuing party was actually put on trial for the "murder" of Donohue!

March 15, 1867, William H. Littlehales was waylaid and shot on the public road near Glen Carbon, in Schuylkill county, within speaking distance of a large number of persons, none of whom professed to have been aware of the terrible deed! Rewards offered for information, etc., were never claimed.

In 1867 and 1868 some signs of attempts to kill, with robbery as a motive, are in evidence. It is supposed that Pat Hester, a body-master of the Mollies, in Northumberland county, was the leading spirit.

October 17, 1868, Alexander Rea, of Mount Carmel, was robbed and murdered. This is one of a number of instances where robbery was the real motive.

December 2, 1871, Morgan Powell, a boss of the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, was murdered at Summit Hill, in Carbon county. The crime occurred in the early evening in the presence of a large number of persons, but none could be found who would tell anything about the shooting.

John "Yellow Jack" Donohue was hanged at Mauch Chunk, June 21, 1877, for the murder of Powell.

During all this time none of the Mollies had been convicted of the crimes they had committed. Trials they had — but no convictions. Alibis were as readily obtained as weeds along the road.

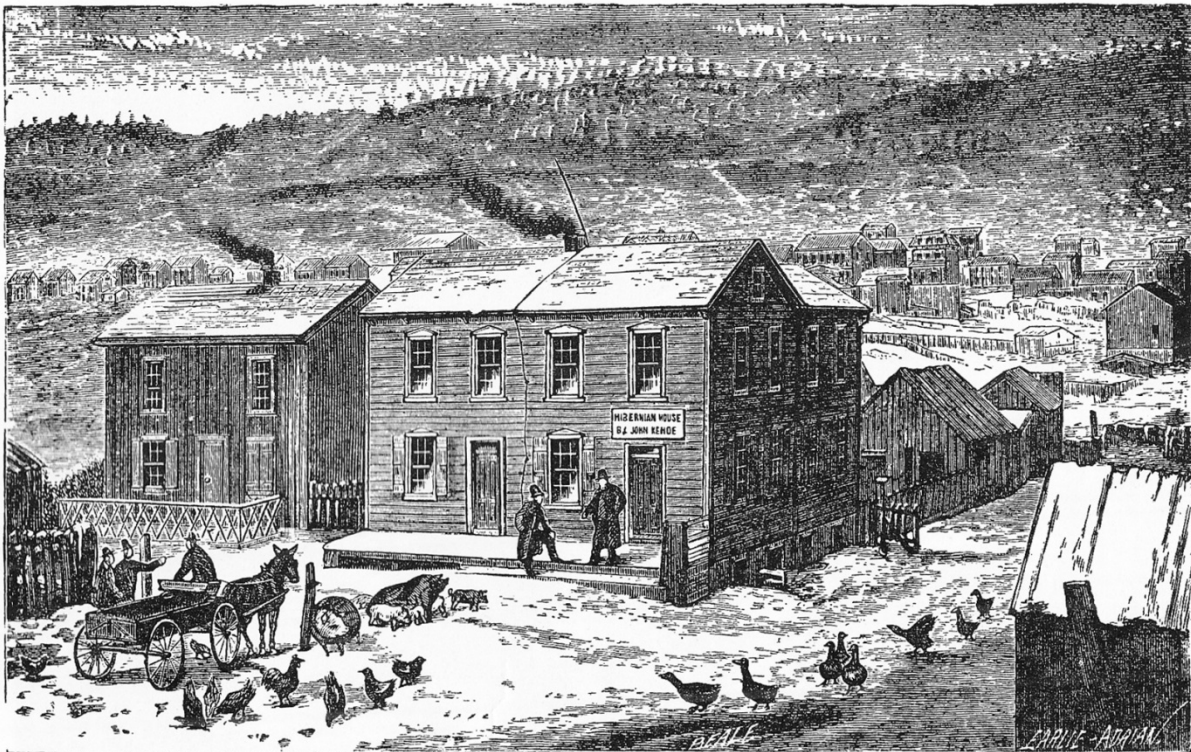
Except for certain instances in more recent times, the Mollies, a law unto themselves, could laugh at the real law and its authorized preservers, about as heartily as ever any organized gang of law-breakers.

In vain the officials of the Philadelphia and Reading and Lehigh Valley Railroads, whose lines spread over this region like huge arteries, offered thousands of dollars in rewards for the apprehension of the criminals.

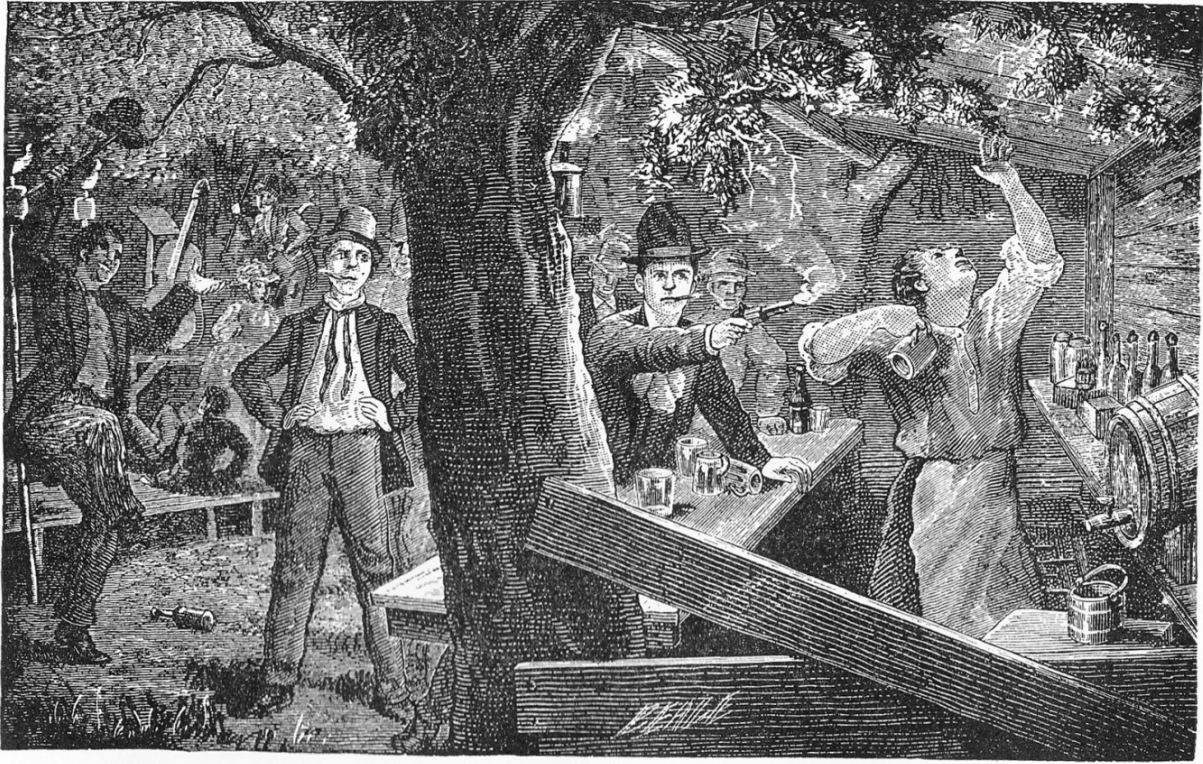
In vain Archbishop Wood, of Philadelphia fought the Molly Maguires with the whole power of the Catholic Church issuing an edict excommunicating all members of the organization, depriving them of all spiritual benefits and refusing them burial in Catholic cemeteries. In vain the Catholic priests throughout the five counties, under Father Bridgeman of Girardville, seeing that not even the Church's curse could check the course of crime, formed an organization popularly called the "Sheet Irons," which was to oppose the Molly Maguires politically and in every possible way. In vain, reputable citizens in almost every town, formed and armed committees of vigilantes who were to take the law into their own hands, inasmuch as the forces of the law were paralyzed. All was of no avail; public offices remained in the hands of ruffians; the same fierce crimes persisted; people were assaulted, robbed, and murdered with increasing frequency.

Here are four engravings from *Aurand's* "Historical Account of the Mollie Maguires. . ."

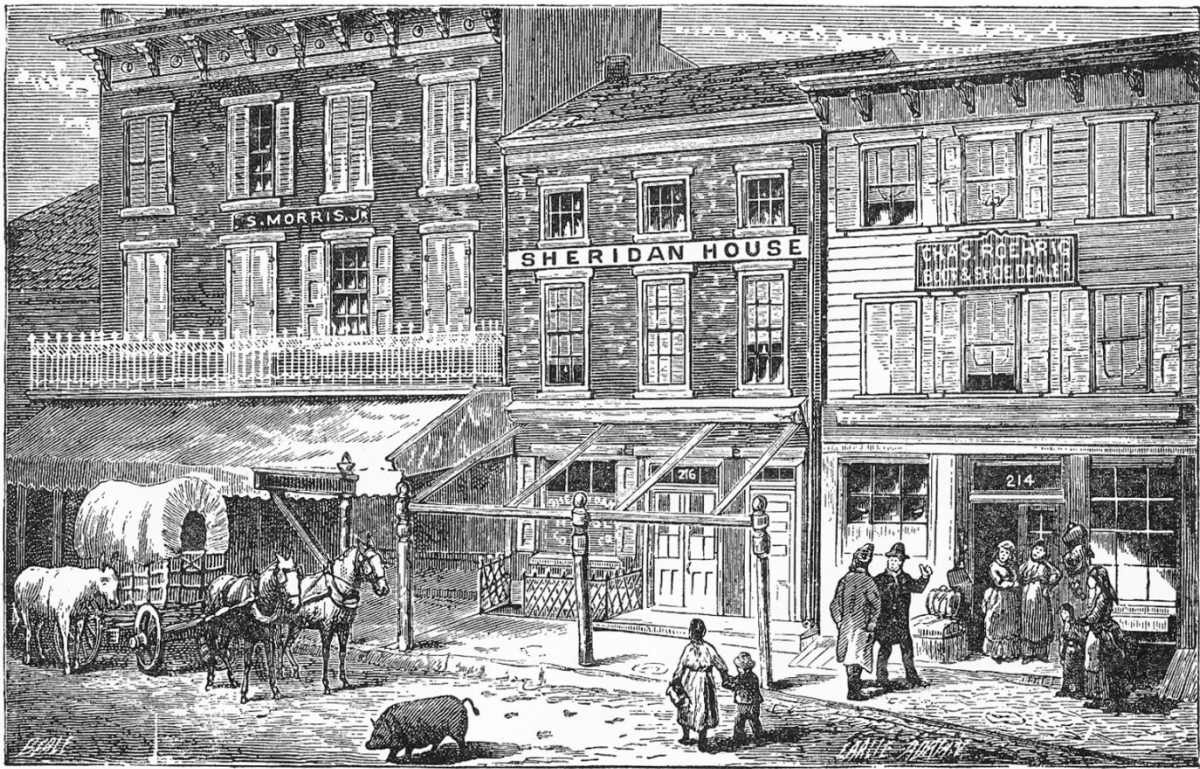
1. *Aurand*, p. 9:



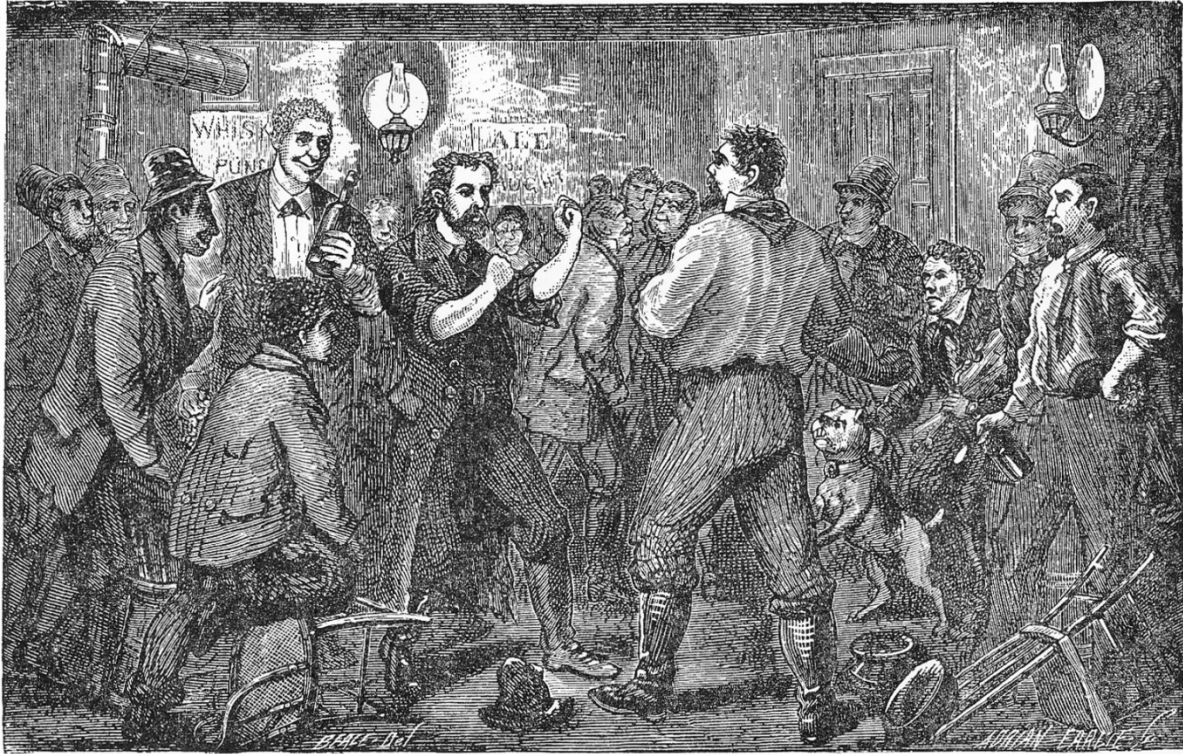
"Hibernian House," Residence of the Notorious "Jack" Kehoe.



Thomas Hurley Fires Bullet Which Killed Gomer James.



"Pat" Dormer's "Sheridan House," at Pottsville



McKenna, With Bared Arms, in One of Many "Poses" With the Mollies.

February 27, 1865: In an effort to control and end this reign of terror in the anthracite fields, the Pennsylvania General Assembly passed an act (State Act 228), which empowered the railroads to organize private police forces with broad authority to make arrests and enforce the law. Accordingly, the Coal and Iron Police, a private police force that was employed and paid by the various coal companies, was established. (This private police force existed up to 1931.)

Law enforcement in Pennsylvania at that time (and until 1905) existed only on the county level or below. An elected sheriff was the primary law enforcement officer. The case was made by the coal and iron operators that they required additional protection of their property. In 1866, a supplement to the act was passed extending the privilege to "embrace all corporations, firms, or individuals, owning, leasing, or being in possession of any colliery, furnace, or rolling mill within this commonwealth". The 1866 supplement also stipulated that the words "coal and iron police" appear on their badges. A total of over 7,632 commissions were given for the Coal and Iron Police.

The first Coal and Iron Police were established in Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, under the supervision of the Pinkerton Detective Agency. Although the Coal and Iron Police nominally existed solely to protect property, in practice the companies used them as strikebreakers. The coal miners called them "Cossacks" and "Yellow Dogs". For one dollar each, the state sold to the mine and steel mill owners commissions conferring police power upon whomever the owners selected. Often common gunmen, hoodlums, and adventurers were hired to fill these commissions and they served their own interests by causing the violence and terror that gave them office. The coal and iron police worked with the Pinkertons.

In 1873, Franklin B. Gowen, the president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, and of the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, a former District Attorney for Schuylkill County, and "the wealthiest anthracite coal mine owner in the world," met with Benjamin Franklin, superintendent of the Pinkerton Detective Agency in Philadelphia (who reported to the chief of the agency, Allan Pinkerton), and presented the problem to be solved. McGowen, in October 1873, then met with the chief of the Pinkerton Agency, Allan Pinkerton.

Allan Pinkerton agreed to take the case and to infiltrate the Molly Maguires, collect evidence, and cause the downfall of the organization. To do so, Pinkerton chose twenty-nine-year-old James McParland, a young Irishman of phenomenal tact and grit who was born in 1844, a native of the County of Armagh, Province of Ulster, Ireland.

McParland accepted the dangerous job, taking the name of James McKenna and assuming the character of a miner from Colorado who had come east, seeking work in the coal region. He would earn \$12 per week plus expenses and would be required to file daily reports. His orders from Allan Pinkerton were clear: "You are to remain in the field until every cut-throat has paid with his life for the lives so cruelly taken."

On October 27, 1873, McParland, calling himself "James McKenna," arrived in Port Clinton to begin his undercover operation. James McKenna's headquarters were in Shenandoah. McParland successfully infiltrated the secret organization, becoming a secretary for one of its local groups. He also began working secretly with Robert J. Linden, assistant superintendent of the Chicago office of the Pinkerton Agency, who was sent to Shenandoah, where he was appointed by Franklin Gowen as captain in the Philadelphia Coal and Iron Police. Together the two detectives were able (1) to take care of emergencies too big for one man working secretly at great risk to life, and (2) to coordinate the eventual arrest and prosecution of members of the Molly Maguires.

McKenna's true identity and mission were known only to three people: Franklin B. Gowen, Allan Pinkerton, and Captain Robert J. Linden of Philadelphia (to whom McKenna sent daily reports during his 44-month mission).



Pinkerton Detective Agency agent **James McParland**, seen here some time in the 1880s



JAMES "McKENNA" McPARLAN,
Detective Extraordinary

Engraving of James "McKenna" McParlan, from *Aurand*, p. 2



Franklin Benjamin Gowen (1836-1889), president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, commonly referred to as the Reading Railroad, in the 1870s and 1880s.



Allan J. Pinkerton (born 25 August 1819, Glasgow, Scotland; died 1 July 1884, Chicago, Illinois. Detective and spy, created the Pinkerton National Detective Agency.

(End of Molly Maguires, Part I)

The Lease Question: 1873-1874

We resume here our look at the troubled times of the 1870s.

In mid-October 1873, the D&H discharged more than 30 men who worked in the Gravity shops and reduced the wages of those retained by ten percent:

"Reduction. / The D. & H. C. Co. have this week discharged upwards of 30 men from their shops here, and it is said have reduced the wages of those retained 10 per cent. A reduction of about one tenth in the number of men employed, and another tenth in the wages paid, will be seriously felt here." (*Carbondale Advance*, October 18, 1873, p. 3)

In mid-October 1873, as well, a number of men who worked on the Gravity Railroad were also discharged:

"Last Saturday night the services of thirty-three men employed in the D. & H. C. Co.'s shops in this city were dispensed with for the present. A number of men on the gravity road were also discharged." (*Carbondale Leader*, October 18, 1873, p. 3)

By early November 1873, the D&H was working three-quarters time at some points in their operations:

"The D. & H. C. Co. have commenced working three-quarters time at some points in their works." (*Carbondale Advance*, November 8, 1873, p. 3)

In December 1873, we learn from an article on page 3 of the December 6, 1873 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, the D&H asked the miners and others working for the company to sign leases to the lots on which their houses were standing and which many of them had occupied for years. If they did not do so, they could not work for the D&H any longer. There was strong opposition to that request, and an indignation meeting was held at City Hall on Wednesday, December 3, 1873. At that meeting, a committee of three was appointed (John D. Tighe, Edward Molloy, and John Killeen) to meet with Superintendent E. W. Weston and obtain his views on the matter. In the December 6, 1873 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, we read:

“The adjourned meeting assembled again on Thursday evening [December 4], and the committee reported that Mr. Weston had informed them, that, unless the men who were asked to take leases, did so, they could not work for the Company any longer. He said his orders were to that effect. He hoped, however, the men would do nothing against their own interests. The majority of the men resolved not to sign any leases, and the meeting adjourned.” (“INDIGNATION MEETING,” *Carbondale Leader*, December 6, 1873, p. 3)

The lease question was first raised by the D&H in January 1859, when the following "Notice to Lot Holders" was published in the January 8 and January 15, 1859 issues of the *Weekly Advance*:

“Notice to Lot Holders. / Persons who occupy Lots upon the Property of the Del. & Hud. Canal Co., in this City, which were entered upon before the same were surveyed, and who have entered into no contract, are desired to call at once upon the subscriber and enter into contract therefor. / And others who have entered upon and taken up surveyed Lots, but who have not paid for the same in whole or in part, will please call and settle for the amounts due. /The subscriber can be found at his Office at the Hay Scales. **R. E. MARVINE,** / Agent for the Del. & Hud. Canal Co., / Carbondale, Jan. 8, 1859.”

Remarkably, the D&H did not take aggressive action on the question at that time and only a few leases were signed. Fourteen years later, in early December 1873, the lease question again came to the surface, with the consequences described on the preceding page.

By late December, 1873, with the lot holders in question not having signed the appropriate leases, the D&H shut down mining operating in Carbondale. In the December 20, 1873 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, we read:

“The mines in this vicinity, owned by the D. & H. C. Co., are all idle at present, and will likely remain so for some time to come. The White Bridge Tunnel has been boarded up at the entrance and no one is permitted to enter. The huge Lackawanna breaker—said to be the largest breaker in the world—stands grim and silent and deserted, like a dark sentinel at the entrance to the mines. No sounds of busy industry now issue from its blackened inclosure, and the giant structure which, but a short time since, prepared over a thousand tons of coal per day, is now having its winter vacation, to last—no one seems to know how long. The hundreds of willing workers would return to their labors at once, provided the question of leases could be satisfactorily settled; but the present outlook doesn’t seem to favor an early resumption of mining here. The few private mines we have are all working as usual.” (*Carbondale Leader*, December 20, 1873, p. 3)]

In an article in its December 20, 1873 issue, the *Carbondale Advance* presented an excellent background/information article on the question. Here is that article:

“The Lease Question. / The question between the Del. & Hud. C. Co. and a portion of its employees, called the ‘Lease Question,’ has become a serious one, and has already been written up sensationally by outside parties. / While it is a matter wholly between the two parties concerned, in which it is difficult, if not impossible for any others to interfere usefully, the outside public of course desires to know something concerning the nature of the question, and if it becomes a legal one, the points that are involved. / In the early settlement of our town, some forty-five years ago, the Company laid out streets and sold lots along the Lackawanna, mostly on the Eastern side. West of this they opened their Coal Mines, and permitted the men employed in the mines, and elsewhere upon their works, if they chose, to build houses for themselves and families upon the surface over the mines, which would otherwise be unoccupied. The privilege, in the growth of the town in that quarter, was extended, until between two and three hundred acres of land has thus been occupied for many years. / Many years ago [in 1859] an effort was made to secure leases from the men, and some have been obtained at different times, but the effort has not generally been successful. The men have all along clung to the hope and belief that the Company would never disturb them, and especially so since they allowed them to remain in quiet possession over the statutory period of twenty-one years. This possession has in many cases now extended over thirty years, and in some instances we believe about forty years. Of late there has been a great improvement in the buildings on the lands. Trusting in the friendship of the Company, and in their rights of possession, the cheap dwellings at first erected have been replaced to a great extent by much better ones. Hence when the demand was made to execute temporary leases, acknowledging and confirming, as they believe, the right of the Company to dispossess them at any time with the sacrifice of all their improvements, worth many times as much as the land, or *no more work*, it came like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. They considered the conditions cruel and unjust, and felt that they must resist to the bitter end. Among the men interested are some very prosperous and influential citizens that very much regret the present state of things. The controversy is a very unfortunate one, and can hardly fail to be damaging to the Company, to the men, and to the town. If the matter is to be contested and not compromised as has been hoped, it is intrinsically a legal question. Hence every one must regret that some violence was used on Monday last, and surveyors and agents of the Company driven off. Legal questions cannot be thus settled, and it only injures the cause of any person that takes the unlawful course. In consequence probably of this great mistake, work was stopped at all mines here on Tuesday, and the outlook for business is not cheerful at present. / The question is often asked, ‘Who has paid the taxes on those lands?’ Upon referring to the city assessment, we find that the Company have been paying taxes upon 620 acres of land within the limits of the city-- 590 acres of outlying lands, and 30 acres of coal lands. Their tax upon lands last year was about \$1900. The men have been paying taxes annually upon their houses. / We have endeavored to give very briefly the leading facts of the case as we understand them. That there can be some practical and amicable solution of the difficulty, that would be better for both parties than a bitter controversy, is evident to every reflecting mind, but how and when it will be reached we cannot predict.” (*Carbondale Advance*, December 20, 1873, p. 3)

At the end of December 1873, D&H President, Thomas Dickson, spoke publicly, via the *Carbondale Leader*, on the lease question. He did so by means of a letter that he wrote to Superintendent E. W. Weston. In the December 27, 1873 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, we read:

“THE LEASE TROUBLES.—We are led to believe, from the tenor of the subjoined latter of President Dickson to Superintendent Weston, that the local difficulties now existing between the D. & H. C. Co.. and a large number of miners and laborers in this city, are in a fair way of being amicably adjusted before long. A meeting of the men was held in the City Hall on Monday evening, when a committee was appointed to call on Mr. Dickson. Accordingly, the committee called on him on Tuesday, and his remarks to the members of the committee are said to have been substantially the same as those contained in his letter. Another meeting of the miners was called this afternoon, Friday. The following is the letter: / **PRESIDENT’S OFFICE, / DELAWARE & HUDSON CANAL CO., / SCRANTON, December 22, 1873. / Mr. E. W. WESTON, SUPT.**—*My Dear Sir:* I have been greatly surprised at the opposition manifested at Carbondale to our plan of placing lot-holders under lease, and cannot but think that it arises from a misapprehension of our object and aims, and from the interference of outsiders who misrepresent us. That there may be a full and complete understanding, I will state briefly our position, which you may communicate to all interested. / First. The requiring of leases from parties who are in possession of our lands is not new, but has been the practice for more than fifteen years, and if not fully carried out, the fault is with the officers of the company, whose instructions were positive. / Second. In taking leases the rent is merely nominal, and the lessees have the right or option of purchase when the lots are offered for sale. And as it may be claimed that undue advantage in making the price might result in, you may establish the rates at one; making them so moderate that reasonable exceptions cannot be taken. Indeed, I would have no objection to having three disinterested citizens establish a schedule of prices. / Third. There is neither disposition or intention to claim, or in any way interfere with improvements. And our record in the past is guaranty that all equities will be fully respected in the future. / Fourth. In suspending employees who decline to recognize our rights, we simply do an act of justice to those who have purchased or leased lots in the past, and assert the rights of our stockholders—the owners of the property. / When these facts are understood, and when the additional value given to property by the settlement in question of title is fully considered, it hardly seems possible there can be any valid objection to our course. I trust, therefore, that this explanation will be satisfactory to our employes, that they will assent to our reasonable request, that work may be resumed, and that the harmony and good feeling which have heretofore existed, may be continued, is the earnest desire of / Yours very truly, / THOS. DICKSON, President.”
(*Carbondale Leader*, December 27, 1873, p. 3)

Thomas Dickson's honest, positive, and straightforward management style and basic personality, which find clear expression in that letter to E. W. Weston on the lease question, were very popular with all, and went a long way to persuade others of the justice and the wisdom of the D&H position. In Samuel Logan's *The Life of Thomas Dickson*, we read: "He bound his fellows to himself and to his schemes of industry by genial fellowship and good cheer. Under all circumstances he manifested justice, honesty, and fair dealing with others. As long as he lived his buoyancy of spirit never failed him. He treated those with whom he was connected in business or in social life as equals and associates. He always treated his subordinates as his friends; always personally received them as his equals. . . [H]e died beloved of all who worked with him or under his direction." (*Logan*, pp. 57-60)

In Thomas Dickson's library there were 6,000 volumes. His exposure to the wisdom of the ages surely contributed to his exemplary manner of responding to and managing other human beings.

The lease question was the subject of an extensive article that was published in *The New York Times* of January 2, 1874. Here is that article:

“LAND AND LABOR TROUBLES. DISPUTED LAND TENURE—THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL COMPANY AND ITS WORKMEN. *From Our Own Correspondent.* / CARBONDLE, Penn., Monday, Dec. 29, 1873. /On Saturday night last the men who occupy land in this city which the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company claim held a meeting for the purpose of taking action on the proposition of Mr. Dickson, the President of the company, to adjust their troubles. The proposition being in favor of the company was rejected by them, and a committee was appointed to propose a counter proposition. The meeting then adjourned to Wednesday night of this week, when they will take further action. The men seem determined not to surrender their land, and it is doubtful if the company can eject them. The history of the cause of the trouble is somewhat as follows: When the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company was first organized by John and Maurice and William Wurts, they obtained possession of large tracts of wild land in the north-western [sic, should read north-eastern] section of the State, which was then an unbroken wilderness. Valuable mines were found to exist at Carbondale, and the company offered as an inducement to miners to work for them, the liberty of building and taking possession of any of their lands as sites for dwelling houses. A great many went, and soon the nucleus of a flourishing town was gathered together. Time passed on, and the village became a city of over 12,000 inhabitants, of which a large number are the descendants of those who came here forty years ago, and who now occupy the same houses that their fathers' built. But miners are plenty, and the old company has passed into other hands, and here are over 300 acres of land in a flourishing city, which they think they can lay their hands on. The occupants work in these mines, and an order is issued that all miners who occupy these lands who do not come forward and sign a lease which will put the company in the light of owners, are forbidden to go to work.

The men claim the lots they occupy, owing to twenty-one years' peaceable possession of the same. They have not signed the papers, and consequently are out of employment, and will very likely remain so for some time. The company had large quantities of coal on hand, and these measures are viewed by some merely as a subterfuge to throw the men out of employment until it is used up. The White Bridge tunnel has been boarded up at the entrance and no one permitted to enter. The huge Lackawanna breaker—said to be the largest in the world—is silent and deserted, and the giant structure which but a short time since prepared over 1,000 tons of coal per day, is now having its Winter vacation, to last—no one seems to know how long. / The company a short time since undertook to have the land surveyed, and a company of surveyors was sent to do the work, but the people drove them off. When the trouble will end no one seems to know, but it is hoped that the meeting on Wednesday evening will be governed by wise counsels. The President of the company, Mr. Dickson, in a recent letter to E. W. Weston, Superintendent at this place, states that the requiring of leases from parties in possession of Company lands has been their practice for the last fifteen years, and if it has been not been carried out the fault lay with the officers whose duty it was to attend to it. By making leases and establishing rates that would not be unreasonable, at which parties can buy with ease whenever they wish, titles would be made perfect and would give additional value to the property.” (*The New York Times*, January 2, 1874)

Following a meeting on Wednesday, January 7, 1874, at City Hall, the miners resolved to purchase the lands in question, thus bringing to an end the matter of leases on the properties in question. In the January 10, 1874 issue of the *Carbondale Leader* we read:

“The differences between the D. & H. C. Co. and the miners who have been in its employ in this vicinity for a long time past are soon to be settled, according to the latest information we have. The men held a large meeting in the City hall again on Wednesday, and it was resolved to purchase the land, after the surveys have been completed. The land will be surveyed soon and the prices made.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 10, 1874, p.3)

On January 12, 1874, the committee appointed by the miners to confer with the officers of the D. & H. C. Co. on the land question, went to Scranton with the expectation of seeing President Thomas Dickson. Regrettably, Thomas Dickson was then in New York City and was not expected to return until the 23rd of January. That being the case, the miners met with Mr. Weston of the D&H coal department. That meeting with Mr. Weston was, from the miners' point of view, a complete waste of time. A scathing account of that meeting was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of January 17, 1874, as follows:

“The Labor Troubles.—The committee appointed by the miners to confer with the officers of the D. & H. C. Co. on the land question, went to Scranton on Monday with the expectation of seeing Mr. Dickson and making arrangements with him for an early adjustment of the existing cause of their idleness, and, if possible, to pave the way for a prompt resumption of labor in the mines around this city. The members of the committee were disappointed when they reached Scranton, for Mr. Dickson was then in New York, and was not expected to be home until about the 23d of the present month. They therefore went to the office of the coal department of the company at Providence, where they had an interview with Mr. Weston, superintendent of the coal department, which lasted for a considerable length of time. The members of the committee returned to Carbondale in the evening, having accomplished nothing satisfactory during their interview with Mr. Weston. On the contrary they claim to have been treated with a great deal of disrespect by that official. They say he was overbearing, mulish, and exceedingly crabbed as to his manner; unreasonable and obstinate as to his conversation; stubborn and unyielding on every point they attempted to discuss with him. They claim that he also flatly denied many things that have been printed as coming directly from Mr. Dickson, even such as were published in letters over official signatures; and that he went so far as to contradict himself in certain respects, and denying his own statements made to these same men on other occasions. One member of the committee considered it his duty to make his language pretty plain in the ears of the high official of the D. & H. C. Co., whose talk and actions to the committee were so overbearing, and he consequently politely informed the said official that Mr. Dickson had previously either told that which was untrue, or that he, Weston, lied shamefully. We can readily believe that the magisterial superintendent was extremely wroth at the plain language of the bold member of the committee and that his dignity—if it may be called dignity—was touched to the quick. He ascended from his dignified position, however, and came near ordering the plain talker from the office, but did not. Perhaps he took a second thought and came to the conclusion that it would be better to keep as cool as possible while the committee remained. Some dispute arose as to the wording of the leases which had been offered to the squatters to sign, one of the committee claiming that they read one way, and Mr. Weston disputing him. A copy was brought from another room in the office to decide the disagreement. After a great amount of talk the committee took their leave. Mr. Weston is certainly very unpopular among the men in this vicinity, and his conduct toward the committee at the interview on Monday has increased his unpopularity. Of this Mr. Weston may not care; but if we were in his position we should care very much. If he is the crabbed and overbearing man he is represented to be,—though we don’t pretend to know anything about him except what we hear—we are inclined to think that another trip to Colorado would be of great benefit to his nerves, and very likely beneficial to his temper and disposition. If he is as obstinate as he is reported to be, it seems to us that he is the ‘wrong man in the wrong place.’ ” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 17, 1874, p. 3)

On Monday, January 12, the miners, some of whom had signed leases, began going to work again:

“On Monday a number of miners resumed work in the Mill Drift and Midland levels. These miners, it is reported, are mainly those who have formerly worked in these mines. Some of them have signed leases previous to going to work; while others have homes not on the disputed property, but elsewhere. The destruction of the wheel-house on Monday night was a means of suspending work again, as the coal is taken to the breaker over what is called Forest Hill—the loaded cars going down the hill furnishing power to draw the unloaded up. It was also reported that some of the miners who worked on Monday have heretofore been employed in the White Bridge tunnel.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 17, 1874, p. 3)

By the end of January 1874, the "land difficulty" in Carbondale was largely resolved in Carbondale, with the resumption of mining imminent.

“There now seems to be a fair prospect of a prompt settlement of the land difficulty in this city, and a resumption of mining will, so we are informed, soon follow. We understand that a number of contracts have been entered into during the past few days between the agents of the Company and the occupants of the land which has been the cause of so much discussion of late. The contracts give the occupants the privilege of buying the land and paying for it in annual installments. It is the belief of some that work will be resumed by the first of February, but we have no reliable authority for saying that such will be the case. We only hope it may be.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 24, 1874, p. 3)

On January 31, 1874, it was announced in the *Carbondale Leader* that the difficulties between the D&H and the miners on the question of leases were amicably settled:

"The difficulties between the Company and the miners have been amicably settled, and work will soon be resumed." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 31, 1874, p. 3)

Delaware and Hudson Canal Company deed, dated June 22, 1868:

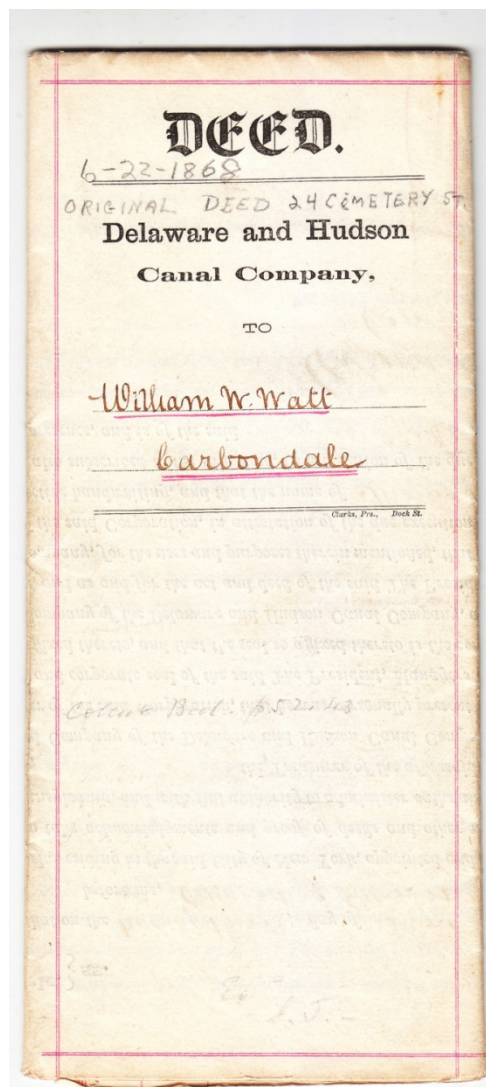
On July 9, 2016, a small box full of nineteenth- and twentieth-century deeds, mortgages, naturalization papers, death certificates, receipts, and miscellaneous papers that relate to William W. Watt and Robert A. Bryden, among others, of Carbondale, and the property at 24 Cemetery Street in Carbondale were donated to the Carbondale Historical Society by Arvis Emmons of Gainesville, Georgia.

Among those papers is the deed, dated June 22, 1868, for the property at 24 Cemetery Street in Carbondale, from the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company to William W. Watt, Carbondale.

This property, on the East side of Carbondale, was purchased in 1868 by William W. Watt in a real estate transaction that took place independent of “the lease question” referred to above. (The properties associated with the lease question referred to above were located primarily on the West side of the Lackawanna River.)

This purchase by William W. Watt in 1868 of the D&H property at 24 Cemetery Street was a straightforward sale of real estate by the D&H to a private individual. The original deeds of a great many of the properties on the East side of Carbondale, in fact, are for parcels of D&H land to private individuals, such as William W. Watt.

We present, herebelow, this rare and wonderful D&H document dated June 22, 1868, and signed by D&H Vice President Thomas Dickson and D&H Treasurer, I. N. Seymour.





This Indenture,

Made the

Twenty Second day of June in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Sixty eight

BETWEEN The President, Managers, and Company of THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL COMPANY, of the first part, and William

W. Watts of the City of Leebondale in the County of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania of the second part,

Witnesseth, That the said party of the first part, for and in consideration of the sum of

Eight Dollars, lawful money of the United States of America, to them in hand paid by the said party of the second part, at or before the enrolling and delivery of these presents, the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged, and the said party of the second part, his heirs, executors and administrators for ever released and discharged from the same by these presents, Have granted, bargained, sold, aliened, remised, released, conveyed and confirmed, and by these presents Do grant, bargain, sell, alien, remise, release, convey and confirm unto the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, for ever,

that certain lot or parcel of land situate in the City of Leebondale in the County of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania - Bounded and Described as follows: to wit containing a front of Sixty feet Northwestward on Street Number Twentyseven (N^o 27) Bounded South Westward at right angles from said Street Number Twentyseven (N^o 27) One hundred and fifty feet by Lot Number Eight (N^o 8) on said Street. Southward parallel with said Street

aliened, remised, released, conveyed and confirmed, and by these presents **Do** grant, bargain, sell, alien, remise, release, convey and confirm unto the said party of the second part, his heirs and assigns, for ever, And

that certain lot or parcel of land situate in the City of Carlisle in the County of Luzerne and State of Pennsylvania - Bounded and Described as follows: to wit containing a front of Sixty feet Northwestward on Street Number Twenty-seven (N^o 27) Bounded South Westward at right angles from said Street Number Twenty-seven (N^o 27) One hundred and fifty feet by Lot Number Eight (N^o 8) on said Street. South Eastward parallel with said Street Number Twenty-seven (N^o 27) Sixty feet by Lot Number Seven (N^o 17) on Street Number Twenty-two (N^o 22) and North Eastward at right angles from Street Number Twenty-seven (N^o 27) One hundred and fifty feet by Lot Number Ten (N^o 10) on said Street Number Twenty-seven (N^o 27) - comprising Lot Number Nine (N^o 9) on said Street Number

Part in the said City of Carlisle: -

(Being part of a tract surveyed on a Warrant from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania granted to Jacob POTTER and part of the same land which John Wurts and others by Indenture dated 28th July 1835 Recorded in the office for the Recording of Deeds &c in and for the County of Luzerne in Deed Book N^o 23 page 313 &c conveyed to The President Managers and Company of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company in fee as by reference thereto will more fully appear) -

Together with all and singular the tenements, hereditaments, rights, members, privileges, and appurtenances unto the said above mentioned and described premises belonging or in any wise appertaining, and the reversion and reversions, remainder and remainders, rents, issues, and profits thereof: **And also,** all the estate, right, title, interest, property, possession, claim and demand whatsoever, as well at law as in equity, of the said party of the first part, of, in, and to the said above mentioned and described premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the hereditaments and appurtenances: **To have and to hold** the above granted, bargained and described premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the hereditaments and appurtenances, unto the said part *y* of the second part, *his* heirs and assigns, to the sole and only proper use, benefit and behoof of the said part *y* of the second part, *his* heirs and assigns, for ever.

And the said The President, Managers and Company of THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL COMPANY, for themselves and their successors, **Do** covenant, promise and agree to and with the said part *y* of the second part, *his* heirs and assigns, that the above described and hereby granted and released premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the hereditaments and appurtenances, in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said part *y* of the second part, *his* heirs and assigns, against all and every person and persons whatsoever, lawfully claiming or to claim the same, — shall and will

Warrant, and by these presents for ever **Defend.**

And the said The President, Managers and Company of THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL COMPANY, for themselves and their successors, Do covenant, promise and agree to and with the said part *y* of the second part, *his* heirs and assigns, that the above described and hereby granted and released premises, and every part and parcel thereof, with the hereditaments and appurtenances, in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said part *y* of the second part, *his* heirs and assigns, against all and every person and persons whatsoever, lawfully claiming or to claim the same, shall and will Warrant, and by these presents for ever Defend.

In witness whereof, the said party of the first part have caused their CORPORATE SEAL to be hereunto affixed, attested by the signatures of their *vice* President and Treasurer, the day and year first above written.

Thos. Dickson President.

attest
I. N. Seymour
Treasurer



Signature of I. N. Seymour, Treasurer

Signature of Thomas Dickson, Vice President

State of New York, } ss.
City of New York,

Be it Remembered, that on the *twenty third* day of *June* A. D. one thousand eight hundred and *sixty eight* before me, *Edward J. Brown* the subscriber, a Commissioner in and for the State of New York, residing in the said City of New York, appointed and duly commissioned by the Governor of the State of Pennsylvania to take acknowledgments and proof of deeds and other writings under seal, to be used and recorded in the said State of Pennsylvania, and with full authority to administer oaths and affirmations, personally appeared *Isaac N. Seymour* the Treasurer of the aforesaid Corporation, known and described as The President, Managers and Company of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and being duly sworn, depose and saith, that he is the Treasurer of the said Corporation, that he was personally present at the execution of the above written Indenture, and saw the common and corporate seal of the said The President, Managers and Company of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company duly affixed thereto, and that the seal so affixed thereto is the common and corporate seal of the said The President, Managers and Company of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and that the above written Indenture was duly sealed and delivered by, and as and for the act and deed of the said The President, Managers and Company of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, that the name of this deponent subscribed to the said deed as Treasurer of the said Corporation, in attestation of the due execution and delivery of said deed, is of this deponent's own proper and respective handwriting, and that the name of *Thomas Dickson Vice* President of said Corporation, also subscribed to the said deed, in attestation of the due execution and delivery thereof, was so subscribed in this deponent's presence, and is of the said *Thomas Dickson* own proper and respective

The President, Managers and Company of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, and that the above written Indenture was duly sealed and delivered by, and as and for the act and deed of the said The President, Managers and Company of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, that the name of this deponent subscribed to the said deed as Treasurer of the said Corporation, in attestation of the due execution and delivery of said deed, is of this deponent's own proper and respective handwriting, and that the name of *Thomas Dickson Vice* President of said Corporation, also subscribed to the said deed, in attestation of the due execution and delivery thereof, was so subscribed in this deponent's presence, and is of the said *Thomas Dickson* own proper and respective handwriting.

Sworn and subscribed the day and year
last aforesaid, before me. Witness my
hand and official seal.

Edward J. Brown



Edward J. Brown
Commissioner for Pennsylvania
in New York City.

More Labor/Management Problems, More Molly Maguire Violence: 1873-1874

With a strike of the miners impending, representatives from the six principal coal corporations in the country met in the office of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company in New York on January 7, 1874 to discuss tonnage allotments (the question of how much coal should be brought forward from the mines in order that the sellers' price might be kept at a proper figure to insure a satisfactory return to the companies among them for the year). Thomas Dickson presided at the meeting, at which no conclusions were reached, but a committee was formed to gather facts. Here is the account of that meeting that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of January 10, 1874:

“A meeting was held Wednesday morning in the office of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, New York, attended by representatives from the six principal coal corporations in the country. Mr. Thomas Dickson presided. The matter under discussion was the tonnage for the year 1874; in other words, the question of how much coal should be brought forward from the mines, in order that the sellers' price might be kept at a proper figure to insure a satisfactory return to the companies. No conclusions were reached, and the conference broke up to meet again at the call of a committee appointed to gather facts. The impending strike of the miners was not mentioned at all, the tonnage question only being touched upon. It is proposed by thus having an understanding to continue the system of gradually increased rates during the year, which has been so successful during the past season.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 10, 1874, p. 3)

On July 31, 1874, in Jermyn, Mine Foreman Alfred L. Green was accosted by three armed men as he was returning from the barn where the mules are housed, to his residence. One of the three desperadoes was shot dead by men who came to Green's rescue. Here are the details of this act of violence, as published in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 1, 1874:

“TERRIBLE OUTRAGE. / Daring Attempt on the Life of a Mine Boss at Jermyn, by Three Armed Men—The Citizens to the Rescue—One of the Desperadoes Shot Dead on the Spot, and Another Mortally Wounded—The Inquest on the Murdered Man—Testimony of Eye Witnesses—The Verdict—The Disowned Dead. / About seven o'clock yesterday morning, the usually peaceful town of Jermyn was thrown into a state of the most intense excitement, by one of the most daring deeds that has ever been perpetrated in Luzerne county. Several of the citizens had entered on their daily labor, little dreaming that they were to be shocked so soon by an act having assassination for its object, and culminating in the death of one man—probably two—of the wretched dupes who would take revenge into their hands, and for a miserable grievance brand themselves with the curse of Cain, by taking a fellow creature's life.

Mr. Alfred L. Green, for many years a mining boss in the employ of Mr. Jermyn, was returning from the barn where the mules are housed, to his residence, and when upon the railroad track was confronted by three strange men, who eyed him rather closely, and acted otherwise so as to arouse his suspicion. Mr. Green not liking their movements, hurried along the railroad track, and the strangers also hastened their speed until they came within a few paces of him when he turned around, and was accosted by one of them, who asked him for employment.—He replied that he could not engage any more men just then as the mines were working only half time, but this is appears was not satisfactory, and his pursuers followed him up adding blasphemy to their insolence and capping the climax by drawing their revolvers and firing several shots, one of which entered Mr. Green's left shoulder and wounded him seriously. The only miracle is that he was not killed on the spot. The three men fired at him in turn as though he were a target. He was not armed, and made no attempt to defend himself. His cries for help brought to his assistance R. M. Pierce and Charles McCracken, at whose appearance upon the scene the attacking party fled.—They were followed, however, along a lane running in the direction of the mountain, and when closely pursued they turned around and fired occasionally, but without effect.—The pursuing party now returned the fire, and the bullet from one of their revolvers entering behind the right ear of a young man who was one of the most prominent in the attacking party, penetrated the base of the brain and lodged in the temple. The shot fulfilled its mission, the young man threw up his arms, fell heavily forward in the middle of the road, and neither stirred nor spoke. He was a corpse. Another of the party was seen falling on his knees from the effect of a shot, but he staggered along by the assistance of his comrade, and both disappeared in the woods. They were followed by a large number of citizens, who were unsuccessful in overtaking them. Mr. Green's wounds were attended by Dr. Leet. / The dead man was at once conveyed to the basement of Gardner's hall and laid there for recognition, but nobody knew nor cared to own him. By this time the excitement grew intense. Hundreds of persons were upon the streets and crowding around the hall, discussing the tragic occurrence, while public feeling was at fever heat. / THE INQUEST. / Esquire Gardner, acting as coroner, proceeded to hold an inquest on the unknown man, empanelling the following jury: John Gardner, John B. Cole, (foreman), W. S. Vail, Nelson Snyder, A. D. Stocker, J. D. Stocker and Michael Roberts. As soon as the jury were sworn they proceeded to the residence of A. L. Green who was faint from the result of his wound, and unable to leave his bed. . . [Testimony taken and reported in this newspaper article from A. L. Green, Charles McCracken, and W. B. Swick. H. D. Swick, W. W. Williams, John T. Howell, and J. D. Edwards were also sworn. The jury accepted and seconded the testimony taken that the dead man was shot and killed on July 29, 1874, about 7 A. M., as he attempted to kill Alfred Green.] LATER. / Messrs. Kearney, Sweeney and Gilroy, overseers of the poor for Blakely township, took the body of the unknown dead [Patrick Malia of Dunmore, who left a wife and three children] away yesterday afternoon, at about five o'clock, and gave it a decent burial. / The two men who escaped from the shooting stopped at an old shanty a short distance from Jermyn on Wednesday night, where a poor woman, whose husband was away, was staying

alone. She states that early in the morning they disappeared in the woods. / Mr. Green, the mine boss who was injured, sits up without much pain, and is doing well under the circumstances. . .
From the 'Morning Republican' of July 30" (Carbondale Leader, August 1, 1874, p. 3)

An account, containing many interesting details, of this same act of violence in Jermyn was published in 1880 under the heading "A Molly Maguire Outrage." Here is the account from 1880:

"A MOLLY MAGUIRE OUTRAGE. / On the morning of the 29th of July, 1874, during the 'Molly Maguire' reign of terror, Mine Foreman A. L. Green was set upon by three strangers, who fired nine pistol shots, bringing him to the ground wounded in three places, but not fatally. William B. Swick and his son, Robert Pierce and Charles Mc Cracken, who were at the Jermyn mill, about fifty yards away, chassed off the assailants, killed one and wounded another in the foot. The corpse being given to the physicians for dissection, persons from Dunmore claimed it as the body of one O'Malia. This and other clues brought about the arrest of the wounded assassin, and under the name of Sharkey he was convicted of an attempt at manslaughter, and sent to the penitentiary for six years and eight months. So bold was this band of murders, and so subservient were some of the local judiciary, that a warrant was actually obtained from a Scranton justice of the peace for the arrest of Robert Pierce for the murder of O'Malia, and a gang of men visited Jermyn to take him; but he had been secreted by his friends, who followed the agents of the outlaws with such pertinacity and so strong a front that they abandoned the search; after which, to avoid further complications, a formal complaint was made, Mr. Pierce taken to Wilkes-Barre, and at the first session of the court discharged with a compliment for his courage and success." (1880, pp. 468-69)

Another Molly Maguire outrage took place on August 13, 1874, when two supporters of a priest opposed to the Molly Maguires were killed by unknown assailants. We have not yet learned any additional details on these two killings.

On January 21, 1874, John Siney addressed a large group of miners at a mass meeting at Wilkes-Barre and encouraged them to become members of the National Association. Here is the account of that meeting, which was originally published in the *New York Sun*:

THE COAL MINERS' STRIKE. / A Mass Meeting at Wilkes-Barre—The Miners Joining the National Association—Prospects of a Compromise on the Basis of 1873. / WILKES-BARRE, Pa., Jan. 21.--Weiss Hall was filled with miners to-day, who met for the purpose of listening to a speech from John Siney, President of the National Association, upon the advantage of all miners joining that association. When the miners of the whole country were thoroughly

organized, with a large amount of money in the treasury, in his opinion there would be no strikes, for the reason that the companies would know that the miners could hold out longer than they could afford to let their works remain idle. In speaking of strikes, he said: 'Never join in a strike so long as you can retain a spark of honor and remain out; but when it once becomes necessary, be sure you are right and ready for the emergency, and then be firm in the stand you take.' He was listened to attentively, and carried the sympathies of all with him. At the close of his address a large number availed themselves of the opportunity to sign the constitution." *New York Sun*. (*Carbondale Advance*, January 24, 1874, p. 2)

In mid-February 1874, a full force of miners and laborers in the Carbondale area were working three-quarter time in the D&H mines:

"A full force of miners and laborers are now employed in the mines of the D. & H. C. Co. in this vicinity. They are at present working on three-quarter time, which is much better than being idle." (*Carbondale Leader*, February 14, 1874, p. 3)

On February 26, 1874, the men in the D&H shops in Carbondale began working full time once again (after two months of three-quarter time):

"All the men employed in the Company's shops in this city, who have worked on three-quarter time for the past two months, commenced working on full time again on Thursday morning." (*Carbondale Leader*, February 28, 1874, p. 3)

On March 2, 1874, full time was resumed in all of the D. & H. C. Co.' mines in Carbondale, and the Lackawanna Breaker in the Carbondale yard was again preparing a thousand tons of coal daily.

"Full time was resumed in all of the D. & H. C. Co.' mines in Carbondale, on Monday. The Lackawanna breaker is preparing its usual daily quantity of a thousand tons. No. 3 shaft is sending out its usual supply and the other small breakers are each being worked the same as they were previous to the suspension caused by the lease troubles. Industry and thrift are visible on every hand." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 7, 1874, p. 3)

In early April 1874, there were 521, 313 tons of coal at Honesdale awaiting shipment via the canal.

"The D. & H. C. Co. has 521,313 tons of coal at Honesdale awaiting shipment." (*Carbondale Leader*, April 4, 1874, p. 3)

In mid-June 1874, the D&H reduced by 10 percent the wages of machinists and other men in the D&H shops and possibly other D&H employees along the line of their works.

"The Del. & Hud. C. Co. have made a reduction of ten per cent in the wages of machinists and other shop men, and we believe other employees along the line of their works." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 20, 1874, p. 3)

Two thirds of the miners in Carbondale were out of employment during July and August 1874. The Lackawanna Breaker, at which 28,800 tons of coal were prepared for market during May 1874, was also closed down for the same period:

"The first day of July has brought a great reduction in the amount of coal mined in this vicinity as well as in the whole mining region. The number of mines from which the coal is prepared at the Lackawanna breaker have been stopped and will undoubtedly remain idle for at least sixty days. The Lackawanna breaker has prepared an uncommonly large amount of coal within the past three months. During the month of May 28,800 tons were prepared for market at that breaker alone—the largest amount ever prepared in any single month; and for the first half of June it averaged about 1,200 tons per day, none of the coal being larger than egg size. Perhaps two-thirds of the mining population are at present out of employment; but many of the men will find work for a time among the farmers. The first of September will undoubtedly bring a revival in the mining business throughout the valley." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 4, 1874, p. 3)

During July 1874, coal shipments to Honesdale over the Gravity Railroad were reduced from over 7,000 tons to 3,000 tons per day:

The shipments of coal over the gravity road to Honesdale were reduced the first of the month from over 7,000 tons to 3,000 tons per day." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 4, 1874, p. 3)

On June 30, 1874, twenty men who worked in the D&H car shop in Carbondale were discharged by Thomas Orchard, foreman of the D&H car shop:

"Mr. Orchard, foreman of the Company's car-shop, discharged twenty men from that shop on Tuesday. This reduction in the number of workmen is made necessary on account of the small number of cars that will be used on the gravity road during the months of July and August." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 4, 1874, p. 3)

The volume of coal mined by the D&H in 1874 was significantly smaller than in 1873: as of July 1874, there was a falling off of 191,316 tons for the season.

"The D. & H. C. Co. mined last week 47,189 tons of coal, which is a decrease of 20,123 tons for the corresponding week last year. Amount mined thus far this season, 1,231,670, a falling off of 191,316 tons for the season." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 4, 1874, p. 3)

All of the Gravity employees who were discharged on July 1, 1874, were re-hired on September 1, and Gravity shipments of coal were then increased by two or three thousands of tons per day.

"All the hands who were discharged from the gravity road on July 1, were put to work again on Tuesday. The increase in the amount of coal mined at present has made the coal traffic over the gravity very brisk. The shipments have increased this week two or three thousands tons per day." (*Carbondale Leader*, September 5, 1874, p. 3) [S. S. Benedict, editor, up to and including Volume XVIII, No. 13, August 29, 1874; paper then turned over to Benedict's eldest son, E. A. Benedict, whose first issue was Volume XVIII, No. 14, September 5, 1874.]

Nearly all of the mines in the Lackawanna Valley were again in operation by the first of September 1874. With the resumption of mining generally, a revival of trade was anticipated in the commercial operations in downtown Carbondale. In the *Carbondale Leader* of September 5, 1874, we read:

"RESUMPTION. / Nearly all the mines throughout the valley are again in operation. Work was resumed in the numerous mines in the vicinity of the great Lackawanna breaker, on Tuesday, and we understand that a full force will be employed. The immense breaker is capable of preparing eleven or twelve hundred tons of the small sizes of coal per day, and when it is run to its fullest capacity the mines about it and the breaker gives employment to about six hundred men and boys. The industrious miners, laborers, and boys, who were thrown out of employment on the first of July, have found work or at least a portion of them have, in other places and on farms; these have now returned to their regular avocations. The Powderly mines have been in operation for some time past. We have not learned whether the White Bridge tunnel is being worked or not. The mines at other points down the valley are nearly all running on full time. Mr. Jermyn's mines at Jermyn are in full blast, and those of Jones, Simpson & Co. at Archbald are being

worked to their full capacity. Those at Olyphant are said to be in full blast. It is reported that the mines of the Erie Company at Glenwood, of which there has been so much said during the past few years, and about which there has been a great amount of trouble, are again in operation. / At present the prospect looks as though we are to have a very prosperous and busy fall and winter trade. There seems to be no good reason why the mines should not be worked on full time for several months to come. In the New York market there is said to be between 300,000 and 400,000 tons less than there was one year ago. The D. & H. Co. has less coal at Honesdale than it has had in some time. With the resumption of mining generally a revival of trade will come. Our merchants are all doing a safe and healthy trade and have a fair prospect of doing a brisk trade this fall. The business of no town in the whole coal region has been done on a more safe and substantial foundation than has the business of Carbondale, a few old croakers to the contrary notwithstanding; and besides, business and trade are gradually on the increase. On the whole we are firm in the conviction that we are, as a city, to grow and prosper." (*Carbondale Leader*, September 5, 1874, p. 3)

From Plymouth up the Wyoming and Lackawanna Valleys to Carbondale, mining was again resumed as of September 1, 1874: In the *Carbondale Advance* of September 5, 1874, we read:

"Mining Resumed. / The terrible season of idleness and half work which has prevailed throughout the anthracite Coal Region for some months past, seems to be nearly terminated. Work has commenced at most of the mines of the Del. & Hud. C. Co. extending from Plymouth to this city, the present week. / The resumption here is not yet quite complete, but it is sufficient to greatly improve the aspect of things and shorten up the faces of our laboring, mining and business citizens." (*Carbondale advance*, September 5, 1874, p. 3)

All D&H Canal employees were also now back to work, as of September 1, 1874, and the canal was running to its fullest capacity.

"The D. & H. C. Co. has placed all its employes, who were suspended for a time from its canal, back to work again. The Company is now running its canal to its fullest capacity." (*Carbondale Leader*, September 12, 1874, p. 3)

On November 1, 1874, the hours of the machinists and other employees in the Gravity shops were again cut, outside labor reduced to \$1 per day, and about three-fourths work in the mines. Hard times were again prevalent.

"Prospects not Very bright. / It is reported that on Nov. 1st, machinists and other employes in the company's shops here, will be put upon eight hours per day, outside labor reduced to \$1 per day, and about three-fourths work done at the mines. We hope this may not be fully true, but it is possible, for business is depressed and times hard everywhere." (*Carbondale Advance*, October 31, 1874, p. 3)

On January 1, 1875, the D&H established the Northern Railroad Department, which consisted of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad and branches, the Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad and branches, and the completed portion of the New York and Canada Railroad. The Department was divided into division, viz.: Saratoga Division, embracing the Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad and branches, and the New York and Canada Railroad and branches; and the Susquehanna Division, embracing the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad and branches.

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The Long Strike of 1875: Winter/Spring 1874-1875

In 1874, late in the year, the wages of the contract miners were reduced by 20 percent, with 10 percent cuts for the laborers. The WBA struck, and in December 1874, the miners began what is known as "the long strike," which lasted over 5 months, ending in June 1875. The D&H miners continued to work during this strike, which they regarded as ill-advised.

The operators never met with union representatives. The miners were unable to force their point, with the result that they were forced to return to work on company terms.

At the end of June 1875, exhausted workers began to return to the collieries, accepting the operators' conditions. The WBA, its funds depleted and its reputation in tatters, ceased to exist as an effective representative of labor. The coalition of operators, supported by local and regional governments, did not want even to recognize unions, let alone negotiate with them.

In the *Carbondale Leader* of January 9, 1875, we read the following about this strike, in which the miners in the employ of the D. & H. C. Co. in the Carbondale area did not participate.

"The recent reduction of ten per cent. in the wages of the miners will be likely to cause a great deal of idleness in certain sections of the coal regions. It is reported that the miners in the employ of the D. & H. C. Co. in this vicinity will continue at work on the reduced wages, although there are some who object to doing so [emphasis added]. Inasmuch as the companies have fixed the rates for 1875, and as they will of course adhere to these rates, it is thought that the miners in the Lackawanna region will not undertake to strike. There is every reason to believe that the companies would just as soon reduce the amount of mining for a time; and, should the miners

conclude to strike, it will doubtless suit some of the companies. There are, as every one who is familiar with the coal regions knows, by far too many men who rely on working the mines for a living; and as long as the demand for coal is no greater than it has been for some time past, there will necessarily be a large number of miners who cannot obtain any work. In these hard times, and at this season of the year, there would be much suffering in a great many families if there should be a general strike. The majority of the miners here will undoubtedly prefer to work steadily at the reduced rates of wages than not to work at all. Seeing that there is an abundance of coal already in the markets, those miners who are allowed to work at the reduced rates will be better off to continue working through the winter." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 9, 1875, p. 3)

On February 5, 1875, the D&H received proposals for \$2,000,000 of their 7 per cent currency bonds, due 1894. The loan was awarded to Morton, Bliss & Co. and L. Van Hoffman & Co. at 101.11 and interest.

"The Delaware & Hudson Canal Co. received proposals on Friday of last week for \$2,000,000 of their 7 per cent currency bonds, due 1894. The loan was awarded Morton, Bliss & Co. and L. Van Hoffman & Co. at 101.11 and interest. There were two other bids for the whole loan--one of 101.09 and the other 101 and interest." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 13, 1875, p. 3)

In mid-February 1875, while miners elsewhere in the coal region were on strike, the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co. gave orders to have their miners again work on "full time." In the *Carbondale Advance* of February 20, 1875, we read:

"Glorious News. / We have the gratifying intelligence that the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co. have given orders to have their miners again work on 'full time.' This will make a big difference in their wages, and is extremely gratifying to the men and all concerned." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 20, 1875, p. 3)

The strikers in the Lackawanna Valley below Carbondale tried persistently, but in vain, to get the D&H miners to strike. The D&H miner continue to work, "even against all the machinations of desperate and designing men from abroad."

"The strikers in the Valley below us have been persistently at work during the past few days to get the Del. & Hud. men out, but thus far have been unsuccessful. It is to be hoped the miners of this company will be governed by a wise sense of the justice and economy of keeping to work, and abide by this decision, even against all the machinations of desperate and designing men from abroad." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 20, 1875, p. 3)

On February 13, 1875, a meeting of the miners and laborers was held at the City Hall in Carbondale to organize a branch of the Miners' National Union. On February 18, 1875, an adjourned meeting was held at which the organization may have been perfected.

"A meeting of the miners and laborers was held at the City Hall on Saturday evening last to organize a branch of the Miners' National Union. Mr. O'Halloran addressed the meeting. An adjourned meeting was held on Thursday evening of this week, and, we believe the organization perfected." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 20, 1875, p. 3)

As of February 27, 1875, the D&H miners from Carbondale were still working, and the *Carbondale Advance* expressed the wish in its edition that day that "We trust that good counsels will continue to prevail, and that they will postpone it [suspension] indefinitely and altogether."

"We are glad to know that the miners have concluded to postpone suspension for the present. We trust that good counsels will continue to prevail, and that they will postpone it indefinitely and altogether." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 27, 1875, p. 3)

As if wage reductions and suspensions weren't enough to worry about, some residents of Carbondale—those in the vicinity of Smith Street (now called Garfield Avenue) and North Church Street in particular—had to contend with a sudden rise of water in Racket Brook, which flooded many cellars on February 27, 28 and March 1, 1875:

"The sudden rise of water in Racket Brook last Saturday was the cause of much solicitude on the part of D. & H. officials, and it had a cooling and dampening effect upon some of the people who live in the vicinity of Smith St., that is if we may judge from the description given of some of the produce that had been stored away in their cellars for winter and spring use, which from some cause or other gave indications of the relative specific gravity of different substances--the heavy bodies retaining their accustomed places and the lighter ones making social calls in different parts of the cellars. This unusual state of affairs was kept up Sunday and Monday with a persistency truly wonderful, owing to the fact that they have had no training either by precept or example to do anything of the kind. Sunday morning presented a spectacle that was conclusive proof that "large rivers from little streamlets flow." The lowest ground along the North bank, owned by Mr. Williams, was inundated to the depth of several feet, and the water had percolated through the South bank and flooded the West end of Smith St. and North Church St., making it one vast sheet of water. As this state of affairs gave indication of being the precursor of serious consequences unless the flood could be assuaged, a large gang of the company's men were put at work early Sunday morning breaking up the ice. All day long they toiled unremittingly and by night they had cut a channel which greatly diminished the volume of the flood. Fortunately a

renewal of freezing weather set in, which checked the flow of water from the mountain, and thus by the diminution of the deluge the people up that way have resumed their accustomed spirits, and with good nature submit to any loss that they have sustained." (*Carbondale Advance*, March 6, 1875, p. 3)

In early March the coal trade was very vigorous, with the men on the Gravity Railroad working until 9 or 10 o'clock P. M., and the Jefferson Branch and the Valley Road also carrying large quantities of coal. In the *Carbondale Advance* of March 6, 1875, we read:

"The Del. & Hud. shop-men and all other employees are now working full time. So are Van Bergen & Co.'s men. / The coal trade with the Del. & Hud. Canal Co. is very lively at present. The gravity road is being taxed to its utmost capacity, the stationary engines being kept in operation until 9 or 10 o'clock each night, and the Jefferson Branch and the road down the valley are also carrying large quantities of coal. If this state of things continues for any considerable length of time, a financial millennium is not a great way off." (*Carbondale Advance*, March 6, 1875, p. 3)

The fact that the Gravity Railroad was operating until nine or ten at night in early March 1875 was also noted by the *Carbondale Leader*:

"The gravity road has been kept running pretty lively of late, some of the time until nine or ten at night." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 6, 1875, p. 3)

The sixty D&H engineers, firemen and pumpmen at the mines who struck work at Providence, Olyphant and Carbondale on March 17, 1875, went back to work on March 23, at the old rate of wages.

"The engineers, firemen and pumpmen at the mines of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co., who to the number of sixty, struck work at Providence, Olyphant and this city on Wednesday night of last week, resumed work on Tuesday evening at eight o'clock, at the old rate of wages." (*Carbondale Advance*, March 27, 1875, p. 3)

The Long Strike was over by July 1, 1875. As we will demonstrate in this volume and in other volumes in this series, the Long Strike represented the opening salvo in an intense struggle between management and labor during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, a struggle that continued well into the twentieth century.

Collapse of Workingmen's Benevolent Association, 1875

The miners and laborers' Workingmen's Benevolent Association collapsed along with the strike. The collapse of the WBA in 1875 was followed by a crackdown on the terrorist group known as the Molly Maquires.

On September 3, 1875, Mine Superintendent John P. Jones, accused of blacklisting striking miners, was shot in the back while walking along a pipeline in Carbon County. We have not yet learned any additional details on this shocking assault.

In September 1875, the D&H subscribed for ten thousand dollars of the stock of the Centennial Exposition, to be held in Philadelphia in 1876.

On October 2, 1875, it was announced in the *Carbondale Advance* that operations would be suspended on the Gravity Railroad for two weeks on account of the lack of room for storage at Honesdale and the dullness of the coal market.

“The running of cars on the gravity railroad will stop to-day, on account of the lack of room for storage and the dullness of the coal market. The suspension will last only two weeks.” (*Carbondale Advance*, October 2, 1875, p. 3)

On October 23, 1875, it was announced in the *Carbondale Advance* that shipment of coal over the Gravity Railroad was resumed:

“The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company have resumed the shipment [of] coal over the gravity railroad.” (*Carbondale Advance*, October 23, 1875, p. 3)

On November 1, 1875, the working hours of the men employed in the D. & H. C. Co.’s shops in Carbondale were reduced to eight hours, 7:30 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.

“On Monday the working hours of the men employed in the D. & H. C. Co.’s shops in this city were reduced to eight hours. The employes now begin work at half-past seven and leave at half-past four.” (*Carbondale Leader*, November 6, 1875, p. 3)

Opening of D&H Line from Albany to Montreal: November 16, 1875

On November 16, 1875, the D&H line from Albany to Montreal was opened officially. For the first time it was now possible to travel wholly by rail from New York City, via Albany and Plattsburg, to Montreal without a water journey on Lake Champlain.

On November 8, 1875, President Dickson invited the most prominent railroad officers and individuals in the region to join the D&H managers on a commemorative excursion to precede the opening of the new route to the public.

From *COP* (p. 253), we learn that the following people, among others, were invited to join the excursion: John Jacob Astor, J. Pierpont Morgan, Samuel Sloan, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Alexander T. Stewart, William H. Vanderbilt, James Blair, William Orton, Thomas T. Eckert, John Taylor Johnston, Chester A. Arthur, F. S. Winston, Richard H. McCurdy, Samuel J. Tilden, Abram S. Hewitt, Hamilton Fish, Galusha A. Grow, Thomas A. Scott, F. B. Gowen, Lucius Robinson, Whitelaw Reid, Charles A. Dana, James Gordon Bennett and Samuel D. Babcock, the last named then the president of the Chamber of Commerce of New York City. President Grant received an invitation, but was unable to accept.”

The excursion train consisted of a baggage car, a hotel car, seven Wagner palace coaches, a directors’ coach, and at the rear an open air ‘Baldwin’ coach. The locomotives were, initially, the first-class coal-burning engine the *Saratoga*, and then the *I. V. Baker*. At Rouses Point the *I. V. Baker*, No. 126 went to the rear of the train and a Grand Trunk locomotive decorated with the American flag and the Union Jack took the lead.

At the banquet at the Fouquet House in Plattsburg, where the excursion made a stop, President Dickson, in his remarks at the banquet held there, in speaking of the early history of the D&H and the beginning of the construction of the D&H Canal in July 1825, noted that it “was the largest undertaking that had ever been entered into upon the Continent by any corporation.” On the return rail journey, between Albany and Oneonta, at a gathering in the rail car in which Thomas Dickson rode, the D&H President, in acknowledging the congratulations offered to him on the outstanding excursion, congratulated all of the Company’s employees on their work for the D&H and “expressed the opinion that there was no corporation in the country employing, as his company did, as many as twenty thousand men, that had so little trouble with its employees.” (*COP*, 259)

No work in the D. & H. C. Co.'s mines and on the Gravity road on Monday, January 3, 1876; work resumed the following day.

"The D. & H. C. Co.'s mines and the gravity road were idle on Monday. Work was resumed on Tuesday." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 8, 1876, p. 3)

In early January 1876, the Gravity Railroad was running at a little more than half-time, with work ending about three o'clock in the afternoon.

"The gravity road is now run on a little more than half time. For three or four days past work has ended at about three o'clock in the afternoon." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 8, 1876, p. 3)

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Five-week Suspension: February 7—March 13, 1876:

It was reported in the *Carbondale Leader* of January 22, 1876, that the directors of the D&H had resolved to suspend work in all their mines for five weeks, commencing February 7.

"A report comes from New York saying that the directors of the D. & H. C. Co. have resolved to suspend work in all their mines for five weeks, commencing February 7." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 22, 1876, p. 3)

During the five-week suspension of work by the D&H, all the needed repairs in the mines and breakers, and on the roads will be made.

"The miners employed by the D. & H. C. Co. have been working on three-quarter time since last Friday. They will be permitted to work next week, after which they will be given a vacation of five weeks. On March 13 work will again be resumed, probably with a rush. The miners know exactly what they can prepare for during six weeks at least. While the suspension continues all the needed repairs in the mines and breakers, and on the roads will be made." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 29, 1876, p. 3)

The *Carbondale Leader*, in its issue of January 29, 1876, took a positive stance regarding the 5-week D&H suspension, saying "We shall all get along well enough if we only put our shoulders to the wheel and work as usual." The D&H, said the *Carbondale Leader* in effect, is not the only business in town: "Because the Company [the D&H] has suspended for the short space of thirty-five days is no reason why all other kinds of business should suspend." The *Leader* concluded, saying: "Pay all your debts when you can, and don't try to cheat anybody."

“We trust none of our citizens will become excited over the fact that the D. & H. C. Co. has resolved to suspend all its mining business for the space of five weeks. People are apt to croak on such occasions, but it is useless to do so, and only makes matters worse. We shall all get along well enough if we only put our shoulders to the wheel and work as usual. Because the Company has suspended for the short space of thirty-five days is no reason why all other kinds of business should suspend. Whenever a suspension of mining takes place there are plenty of people who make it an excuse for not paying their debts promptly. We notice that the same thing has commenced already. The trouble is that parties who owe money to others either deposit it in some savings-bank or keep it in their pockets. Pay all your debts when you can, and don’t try to cheat anybody.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 29, 1876, p. 3)

The D&H employees in Carbondale who are out of work during the 5-week suspension, said the *Carbondale Advance* in its issue of February 5, 1876, will be able to stand the suspension without very serious inconvenience.

“To-day is the last day that the railroads and shops of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company will be open for business for five long weeks. It is a matter of congratulation that most of the employes of that Company in our town are not in very straightened circumstances and will be able to stand the suspension without very serious inconvenience. We trust that when the works again commence running that they will be run on full time. If this be so, the present dull times will be soon forgotten.” (*Carbondale Advance*, February 5, 1876, p. 3)

The prices for coal adopted by the Combination for February 1876 are reported in the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, and were reprinted in the *Carbondale Advance* of February 5, 1876 as follows:

“The Suspension and Prices. / The *Engineering and Mining Journal* has the following information concerning the late action of the coal companies: / ‘The very mild weather and the uncertainty as to what policy the Combination would adopt for this year have made the demand for anthracite coal very light. / ‘The Combination was in session lately, and resolved to suspend mining for five weeks, beginning February 7th. It adopted the following prices for February which we compare with those of the Pennsylvania Coal Company for the same month:

	Pennsylvania Co's Pittston coal.	Lackawanna Wilkes-Barre and Schuylkill coal.	Lehigh coal.
Lump	\$4.50	\$4.65	\$5.25
Steam	\$4.50	\$4.65	\$5.25
Broken	\$4.60	\$4.75	\$4.90
Egg	\$4.80	\$4.95	\$5.00
Stove	\$5.35	\$5.50	\$5.50
Chestnut	\$4.35	\$4.70	\$4.84

The Pennsylvania Company's prices are net to contractors, while from the prices of Lackawanna, Wilkes-Barre and Schuylkill coals a commission equal to about 25 cents per ton, is allowed to large purchasers, which places these coals all on the same basis. Lehigh coals, which are always higher than the others named, bear their usual difference in rates. The above prices show reductions in combination coals, ranging from 25 cents to 70 cents per ton, while the Pennsylvania Coal Company's remain the same as for the month. / There has been a surplus of coal offering for a long time at prices as low as those announced by the combination, so that most consumers will receive no benefit from this action, unless it should result in still greater reductions in prices by those who were underselling before. There can be no doubt but that those at which the combination claimed to hold were too high. After announcing in December that there would be no change until March, this unexpected reduction may be considered as bad faith by customers who had laid in supplies, counting on rates being maintained. From the actions of the combination during the past year the public will be inclined in future to put but little confidence in its programmes. This winter, owing to the very mild weather, has been a disastrous one to coal dealers, and now they will have to sustain a large depreciation of value on the unusually full stocks they are carrying. This may yet react upon the coal companies in the way of protested paper, etc. / 'The combination adjourned until the 29th inst., when the programme for 1876 will receive further consideration, nothing definite having been done yet.' (*Carbondale Advance*, February 5, 1876, p. 2)

Tranquility and an air of resignation prevailed in Carbondale as the "five weeks' season of rest" began on Monday, February 7, 1876: no railroad whistles, no chimes at Davis's engine at 5 A.M., streets filled with idle miners, rail-roaders, mechanics, and laborers, all are quiet and law abiding, and accept the situation with grace and honor to themselves. Unlike the miners who, during the three-months' suspension in 1872 found work in other places and on the farms for miles around, where they got fair wages for their work, the miners in 1876 could obtain no work outside of their regular trade; they had none of their own to do; and it was a hard matter for them to kill time. Here is the very nice description of life in Carbondale at the beginning of the 5-week suspension in 1876 as presented in the *Carbondale Leader* of February 12, 1876:

“THE SUSPENSION. / On Monday all the works of the D. & H. C. Co. in this city as well as their gravity road and shops here commenced their five weeks' season of rest. There was a stillness in the morning which is seldom experienced here. None of the gravity road's whistles were blown, the chime at Davis's engine did not sound at five o'clock as usual on week-days, to the great delight of hundreds of people who have been annoyed with the fearful sound, as they term it, every week-day since Thanksgiving morning, and it seemed like Sunday. That chime of whistles, by the way, is found fault with to an alarming extent by the sleepy citizens who live very near its station, though for ourselves we rather like its sound. Its noise at five o'clock gives the hearer the impression that there is work ahead, and that the active business day is near at hand. It tells us that the gravity road at least is in running order, which is certainly a consolation to the men employed along its route. To one accustomed to living in Carbondale this uncommon and almost universal stillness is an unusual occurrence, and therefore seems quite unnatural. But the time will rapidly roll around when all this will be changed, when work will be resumed again and whistles will blow as of old, and therein the local chronicler, together with the laborer who is willing to work, when he can get work to do at fair wages, finds a little consolation and hope for brighter days. / The number of men and boys now idle in the immediate vicinity of Carbondale is greater than it has been at any one time, perhaps, since the long strike. At a number of brief seasons since that memorable event, a limited number of men and boys directly connected with the mining, preparing for market, and carrying of coal, have been forced to lie idle for various causes; but nothing so general has taken place of late. The suspension of work in a portion of the mines in Carbondale for the space of three months during the summer of 1872, threw a large number of men and boys out of employment, but many of them found work in other places and on the farms for miles around, where they got fair wages for their work. The mechanics were not forced to lie idle at that time, and the gravity road ran as usual to convey coal from mines down the valley to Honesdale. / The lease difficulties more than two years ago caused a considerable amount of idleness, for a few weeks, among the miners right around Carbondale, but the troubles were soon amicably settled, and the men went to work again willingly. / All the present week our streets have been filled, so to speak, with idle miners, rail-roaders, mechanics, and laborers. They can obtain no work at the present time outside of their regular trade; they have none of their own to do; and it is a hard matter for them to 'kill time.'

They are used to daily work, they are not contented when idle, they desire to work both as a means to obtain subsistence, and to keep out of mischief; and who can blame them for being uneasy and discontented when they can find nothing for their hands to do? It is natural for man to work—to labor at something, whether with the hands or with the brain, and it is also quite natural for the most of us to be uneasy when we are compelled to do nothing. Many of these idle miners, we are inclined to believe, could do much, during these seasons of compulsory idleness, to improve their minds, were they so disposed. Perhaps some of them will do this; the great majority of them will not; and nothing that the Press can say, or any advice which it can give will be apt to make them change their course. / The miners, we are exceedingly glad to report, are quiet and law abiding, and accept the situation with grace and honor to themselves. They are peaceable, and are waiting patiently for the suspension to end. They know that all the miners in the anthracite region are as idle as they themselves, and that there has been no partiality shown to any section, which undoubtedly has made them more contented than they otherwise would have been. We anticipate neither serious breaches of the peace nor any crimes during the suspension, though idleness is generally an inducement to commit misdeeds. On the whole we think the suspension will not stagnate business much, and that we shall have a brisker business than ever by the first of April. (*Carbondale Leader*, February 12, 1876, p. 3)

After two weeks of suspension, peace and quiet still prevailed in Carbondale. Many of the idle railroad men and mechanics took advantage of their vacation which the general suspension had obliged them to take, and went on visits among their relatives and acquaintances in the country and surrounding towns. In the *Carbondale Leader* of February 19, 1876, we read:

“Two weeks of the five weeks’ suspension have already nearly passed away, and nothing of importance connected with the suspension has transpired. The miners are all waiting patiently for the time to come when they can again resume their accustomed labors. Peace and quiet reigns, though more intoxicated men have been seen on the streets for ten days past than for the month previous, we are sorry to say. The miners received their pay for January’s work on Monday, but the money thus paid out has made no very great revival in trade. In times like the present it is expected that laboring people will practice as much economy as possible, and it is well that they should do so; but they should also try to pay their honest debts, particularly those contracted for the necessities of life which they have been trusted for heretofore. The idle railroad men and mechanics are—many of them at least—taking advantage of their vacation which the general suspension has obliged them to take, and have gone on visits among their relatives and acquaintances in the country and surrounding towns. By the time the suspension ends they will be very much recruited and refreshed, and ready to go to work again with renewed energy. The needed repairs on the gravity road are being made, and by the 13th of March all things will be in readiness to rush business.” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 19, 1876, p. 3)

Life went on, as usual, on all levels of society in Carbondale. On February 11, 1876, a brilliant reception was given at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. P. C. Gritman in honor of Mr. and Mrs. C. Farrer who were recently married. Here is the account of that reception that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of February 19, 1876:

"A brilliant reception was given at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. P. C. Gritman on Friday evening of last week in honor of Mr. and Mrs. C. Farrer who were recently married. Between two and three hundred invitations were sent out, but, on account of the bad state of the weather, many of those who were invited failed to attend. However, a large number of Carbondale people attended, and a considerable amount of enjoyment was the result. Refreshments were served late in the evening, after which the young people danced for an hour so. Mr. and Mrs. Gritman entertained their guests sumptuously, as they always do. The affair is said to have been one of the finest that has taken place in Carbondale in a long time." (*Carbondale Leader*, February 19, 1876, p. 3)

After only two weeks of suspension, the miners employed in the Cold Brook mines (one-half of the mining population of Carbondale) were all set to work again on three-quarter time. The Lackawanna Breaker where the coal from these mines was prepared for market was the most northern one owned by the D. & H. C. Co., and the coal prepared there was shipped to market daily by the Jefferson Branch and Erie roads, and the A. & S. Railroad to Albany and the north. About the resumption of work after only two weeks of suspension, we read the following in the *Carbondale Leader* of February 26, 1876:

"The suspension has not been as long in this vicinity as it was expected to be. The miners employed in the Cold Brook mines were all set to work again on Tuesday on three-quarter time. They have been idle only two weeks and one day. The news of the resumption was not known in Carbondale until Monday noon, and as soon as it became generally known in town, there was some rejoicing. The men who were to be given work on the following morning at once went to their homes to prepare for the work which was offered them so unexpectedly, and their five weeks' vacation thus ended in less than one-half that time. Since Monday there have been very few men on the up-town streets during the day-time. The resumption has produced a good effect, and all classes seem to be pleased with it. Three or four weeks ago, it will be remembered, we cautioned people against getting frightened about the prospective suspension, even if it should last for five weeks. The present resumption has given work to perhaps one-half of the mining population of this city, and the other half will undoubtedly be set to work again on full time on the 13th of next month, at which time the shops and gravity road will commence running again. No other resumption among the suspended works throughout the valley has taken place, so that Carbondale has reason to rejoice a little at her good luck this time. It will make a difference of a few hundred dollars a day, which is a matter to be thankful for in these 'hard times.' The immense breaker where the coal from these mines is prepared for market, is the most northern

one owned by the D. & H. C. Co., and the coal now being prepared there can be shipped to market daily by the Jefferson Branch and Erie roads, and the A. & S. Railroad to Albany and the north. We presume that work in these mines was resumed as soon as it was merely to supply the northern markets and because the coal can be loaded in the same cars that convey it to its destination with very little expense.” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 26, 1876, p. 3)

During the five-week suspension, the D&H put a new Howe truss bridge across the Lackawanna river, which formed part of the trestling or high works that ran through Carbondale near Wall street, and over which the bulk of their coal was carried which went to Honesdale. They also built a cribbing on each side of Dundaff street, which kept the culm and filling from sliding into the river and street. In mid-March, the Gravity Railroad also started up operations again. In the *Carbondale Advance* of March 11, 1876, we read:

“During the suspension of mining operations the Del. & Hud. C. Co. have put a new Howe truss bridge across the Lackawanna river, which forms part of the trestling or high works that run through our city near Wall street, and over which the bulk of their coal is carried which goes to Honesdale. They have also built a cribbing on each side of Dundaff street, which will keep the culm and filling from sliding into the river and street. This week they began running cars on the gravity road, and the sound of the car wheels as they travel the rails, and the screech of the whistles along the lines of the engines, are pleasant to hear, and prognosticate that in a few days all the ponderous machinery for getting the black diamonds to market will again be running and, let us hope, at full speed and on full time—so that our laboring people, who are thousands, and who have been so long idle, will be given that much needed and long desired chance to exchange their labor for the where-with-all to liquidate their indebtedness and to provide some of the necessities for the corporeal wants of themselves and families. That is as much as they can reasonable aspire to during these hard times when every branch of trade and industry is stagnated, and the luxuries of life are things that once ‘were,’ but now must be set aside.” (*Carbondale Advance*, March 11, 1876, p. 3)

The five-week suspension ended on March 13, 1876, and by April 1, work was resumed at most of the collieries of the Del. & Hudson and Delaware, Lackawanna & Western companies.

“Work has resumed this week at most of the collieries of the Del. & Hudson and Del., Lack. & Western companies. The Coal Brook mines in this city, which have been idle for a few days, to allow some repairs to be made, resumed again on Tuesday.” (*Carbondale Advance*, April 1, 1876, p. 3)

At the end of April 1876, the wages of the men employed in the D. & H. C. Co.'s shops in Carbondale were reduced by ten per cent.

"The wages of the men employed in the D. & H. C. Co.'s shops in this city have been reduced by ten per cent." (*Leader*, April 29, 1876, p. 3)

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Molly Maguires, Part II: Arrests and Executions, 1876-1878

Earlier in this volume (pp. 70-83), we presented Part I of our two-part presentation on the Molly Maguires. We continue now with Part II of our look at the Molly Maguires.

In an issue of the *New York Weekly* published in February 1876, there was an article about "the secret society of the *Molly Maguires*." The demand for copies of the article was great. In the *Carbondale Advance* of February 26, 1876, we read:

"The Molly Maguires. / The mystery is out—at least, the beginning of it. The *New York Weekly*, containing the highly exciting revelations concerning the secret society of the 'Molly Maguires' is now in the hands of the Pennsylvania news dealers, who find a brisk demand for it. Everybody, whether miner or minister, maid, wife, or widow, seems anxious to procure and peruse the startling developments in the *New York Weekly* concerning the 'Molly Maguires.' " (*Carbondale Advance*, February 26, 1876, p 3)

The collapse of the WBA in 1875 was followed by a crackdown on the terrorist group known as the Molly Maguires.

1876: McParland completed his mission and withdrew.

February 5, 1876: Based on a 210-page confession by "Powderkeg" Kerrigan (which identifies members of the Mollys, including the men responsible for the murder of Benjamin Yost) murder warrants were issued for the arrests of 17 Mollys.

Arrests were now begun in earnest, and capture followed swiftly upon capture. McParland did not testify in the Kelly and Doyle cases in March, 1876, at Mauch Chunk, but "McParlan was much in the locality and furnished very valuable information, greatly assisting the prosecution in their legal warfare upon the Mollie Maguires." (*Allan Pinkerton*, p. 503).

In April 1876, McGowen and Pinkerton met with McParland in Philadelphia to find out if he would take the witness stand in the trials that were to follow, even though Pinkerton and McParland had entered into a verbal agreement nearly three years before that McParland, the operative, would not be called upon to go before a court and give testimony. McParland: "I will come out in my true character as a detective, speak the truth in all the cases, wherever needed,

and, so help me God, every assistance that I can give shall be rendered! Nothing shall be held back. With God's aid, I may be the means of doing much good!" (*Pinkerton*, p. 505)

Here is Aurand's account (p. 26) of McParland's appearance on the witness stand:

Court Spectators Dumb-Founded. — But the audience in the crowded court room could hardly believe that the quiet, gentlemanly, cool and resolute witness, James McParlan, was the wild and reckless, ever-boasting James McKenna they had known! He spell-bound the spectators, and legal array gathered there during the four days he was on the stand, as they had never been in all their years of surprises.

The entire bar of the county was present — they and spectators alike being startled by the terrible revelations of the crimes and methods of the Mollies. Try as they might, the cross-examination failed to find a single flaw in his testimony.

Never before had a Mollie been convicted, but now they were found guilty by the wholesale. McParlan, as he now was known, was under constant guard, and it was feared he might be killed in the court room to prevent his testifying.

On the very day that McParland appeared on the witness stand, the "ring-leaders" of the Mollies were arrested. In *Aurand* (p. 27) we read:

Sudden Arrests of Ring-Leaders. — On the day McParlan appeared on the stand, the following Mollies were arrested and committed to jail: Jack Kehoe, high constable of Girardville, and county delegate of the AOH; Michael Lawler, of Shenandoah; Frank O'Neill, of St. Clair; Patrick Butler, of Lost Creek; Patrick Dolan, Sr., of Big Mine Run; Michael O'Brien and Frank McHugh, of Mahanoy City; and Christopher Donnelly, of Mount Laffee.

The unlawful acts of the Mollies in the coal regions were carried on for more than a dozen years, dating before the close of the Civil War, until the gallows and the jails put a stop to them, in 1877.

About seventy persons were arrested and tried, against a backdrop of severe economic depression that began with the Panic of 1873. Of those arrested: 12 were found guilty of murder in the first degree, 4 of murder in the second degree, 4 of being an accessory to murder, 16 of conspiracy to murder, 6 of perjury, 1 of assault with intent to kill, 8 of aiding and abetting a murder, 1 of assault and battery, 1 for aiding in the escape of a murderer, and several others of lesser crimes.

The sentencing, at Pottsville, PA, of five of the "Mollie Maguire assassins" is the subject of detailed article that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of September 2, 1876. A remarkable feature of this article is the fact that it contains the first-persons responses of each of the five accused persons to their sentencing by Judge Greene:

“FIVE MOLLIE MAGUIRE ASSASSINS SENTENCED TO DEATH. / Pottsville, Pa., Aug. 29.—Yesterday was a memorable one in the Molly Maguire trials. The motions for new trials in the cases of the convicted murders were decided adversely, and the prisoners were arraigned for sentence. The first in order was Thomas Munley, convicted of the murder of Thomas Sanger. Judge Greene addressed the prisoner in a solemn manner, and then asked him whether he had anything to say. Munley answered: / Well, I haven’t a great deal to say about it, but I am as innocent a man as ever lived in this world of this charge. I only hope God will forgive those who have sworn my life away, as I do now. I never saw the man yet that I wanted to draw his blood. I never insulted a man in all the time I lived in Gilberton, eleven years; and I was going the road all the time. I ask your Honor to say and sign the day as soon as you can. I am not guilty of the charge. I believe that is all I have to say.’ / Judge Green then pronounced the sentences in the usual form, and Munley, as he turned aside, wiping the tears from his eyes, said, ‘I thank your Honor.’ The time for the execution of the sentence must be fixed by the Governor. The other prisoners were then arraigned and Judge Pershing addressed them thus: / James Carroll, James Roarty, James Boyle, and Hugh McGehan: You have been tried and convicted for the willful, and deliberate, and premeditated killing of Benjamin F. Yost, in the borough of Tamaqua, on the morning of the 6th of July, 1875. Your case, looked at in all its circumstances, is without a parallel in criminal jurisprudence. It is true that but two of your number were actually engaged in the perpetration of the crime, but you all took part in the dark conspiracy when the murder of Yost was planned. He had never injured either of you in any way. His murder was not to gratify any feeling of personal revenge on your part, nor yet for the purpose of gain. It was a cruel assassination, carefully planned and relentlessly carried out. The very spot where this tragedy was to be enacted had been selected by you weeks before as one where the deed could best be done with the least risk of detection. But a few minutes before Benjamin F. Yost had left his house in the full vigor of life. While his wife was yet looking out upon his retreating foot steps, and he, in discharge of the duties of his position, was in the act of extinguishing the only lamp left burning in the town, you, Hugh McGehan and James Boyle, stepped out from the place of your concealment, and shot him down. As he staggered to the earth you fled. His cries of agony,

which pierced the night air, were afterward made by one of you the subject of a brutal jest. You afterward spoke of it as ‘a clean job,’ and boasted that the agents in that deed of blood would never be found out. / The evidence disclosed the startling fact that in the murder of Benjamin F. Yost you acted as the instrument of an organization, bound by oath to secrecy, which, through its bodymasters, issues its commands to assassinate innocent and unsuspecting citizens, and that these orders are willingly obeyed by its members. Christian civilization is shamed by the existence of such a band of organized assassins. / James Carroll was then asked whether he had anything to say before the sentence was passed. / Carroll—Your Honor, I have been tried and convicted of a crime, of which I am entirely innocent, on the evidence of two perjured men. [Meaning Detective McParlan and Jimmy Kerrigan, the Squealer] I thank your Honor for the patience you had in the long trial and Mr. Bartholomew and Mr. Ryan for doing all they could for me. / Judge—James Roarty, have you anything to say? / Roarty—I am innocent of this charge, your Honor. If I did what they all say I did, I would not be here now. That is all I have to say. / Judge—James Boyle, have you anything to say? / Boyle—I have nothing to say; but I am innocent and am to be hung for Kerrigan’s dues. / Judge—Have you anything to say? / Boyle—No, sir. / Judge—Hugh McGehan have you anything to say? / McGehan—No, sir; it would do me no good if I did. I am innocent of the charge, and I hope God will forgive them as I forgive them that swore my life away. / Judge—Have any of you anything else to say? / The prisoners shook their heads. / Judge Pershing—James Carroll, the sentence of the Court is that you be taken from hence to the county jail and from there to the place of execution, and that there you be hung by the neck until you are dead, and may God in his infinite compassion have mercy on your soul. / The same sentence was pronounced upon each of the other three, and each one said, ‘Thank your Honor,’ as they turned to be taken to jail. As the prisoners were leaving the court room McGehan turned to the spectators, with an air almost bordering on bravado, but in a husky voice, said, ‘Good bye, all.’ / Alexander Campbell, convicted of the murder of John P. Jones, at Lansford, was sentenced to death yesterday afternoon, at Mauch Chunk. Thus eight of the murderous gang are now under sentence of death: Michael J. Doyle, Edward Kelly, and Alexander Campbell for the murder of Jones (the case of the first two has been appealed to the Supreme Court, as will in all probability the others); Thomas Munley, for the murder of Thomas Sanger, and James Carroll, James Roarty, James Boyle, and Hugh McGehan, for the murder of Yost. / From reports received of the frequency of crime in Luzerne County, it would appear that the Molly Maguires, who are called ‘Buck-shots,’ have, for the time being, transferred their field of operations to that county.” (*Carbondale Leader*, September 2, 1876, p. 2.)

The time for the execution of the sentences, by law, in Pennsylvania, is fixed by the Governor of the Commonwealth. The governor of Pennsylvania at the time was Hatranft.

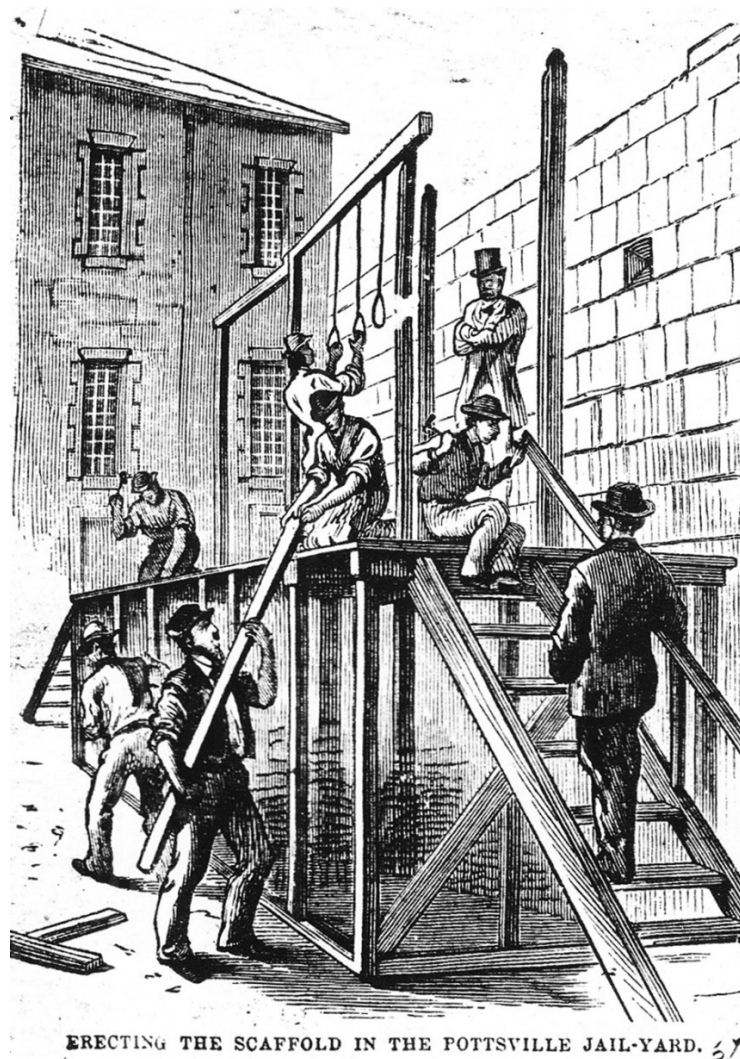
"On May 21, 1877, Governor Hatranft issued warrants for the execution of Alexander Campbell, John P. Jones, James Carroll, Hugh McGehan, James Boyle, and James Roarty, convicted of the murder of Benj. F. Yost; Patrick Hester, Peter McHugh, and Patrick Tully, convicted of the

murder of Alexander W. Rea. Campbell was hanged at Mauch Chunk on the 21st of June, in company with Michael Doyle and Edward Kelly, concerned in the murder with him. Carroll, McGehan, Boyle, and Roarty expiated their crimes on the same day on the gallows from which Thomas Munley was suspended for the murder of William Sanger and James Urens; and Hester, McHugh and Tully will be executed at Bloomsburg on the 9th day of August next, which will be the first executions that have ever taken place in Columbia County." (*Pinkerton*, p. 552)

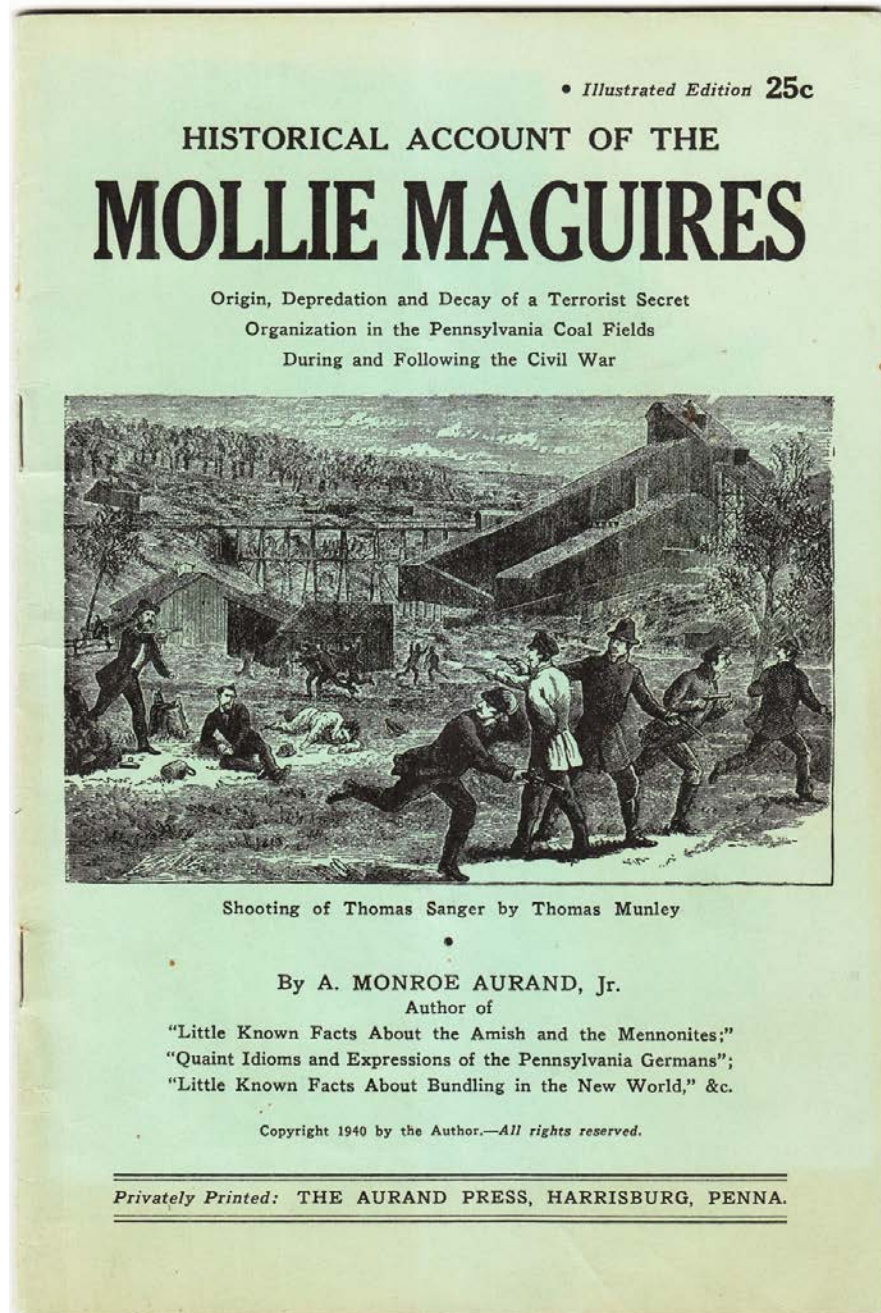
The judges presiding over the Molly Maguire trials were Cyrus L. Pershing and Judge Greene

Pasted into an album made from wallpaper samples, in the collection of the Carbondale Historical Society, are several pages of clippings about the Molly Maguires, including this engraving, titled "Erecting the Scaffold in the Pottsville Jail-Yard".

"For it was in this part of Ireland [north-central and northwestern Ireland], and in the single county of Donegal in particular, that most of the American Molly Maguires originated." Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires*, p. 13.



The hangings at Pottsville and at Mauch Chunk constitute the final four text pages in A. Monroe Aurand, Jr.'s *HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES* *Origin, Depredation and Decay of a Terrorist Secret Organization in the Pennsylvania Coal Fields During and Following the Civil War*, privately published in 1940 by The Aurand Press, Harrisburg, PA. Here are the front cover and those four pages (pp. 28-31) of Aurand's account:



THE MOLLIES GO TO THE GALLOWS AT POTTSVILLE

Town Takes on Holiday Appearance. — The people of Pottsville were astir early on the morning of June 21, 1877, for on that day six men were to pay for the crimes they had committed against society. They were to be hanged by the neck, until dead!

Great throngs gathered early in the day to be near one of the scenes rare for that time—a Mollie Maguire paying with his own life!

The condemned in their cells heard the workmen constructing the gallows, but they did not give way to their emotions, hoping until the last minute, that their "power" would be sufficient to get them much-cherished reprieves from the Governor, at Harrisburg.

But the reprieves did not come, not even for the ring-leader of them all, Jack Kehoe, who boasted loud and often, that he would not be hung—but who was—meeting his death within a year, at Pottsville.

With death staring them in the face, the condemned did as most men do in like circumstances—if they did not have a comfortable night, they certainly partook of a good meal. It is so much easier to die on a full stomach, than an empty one, it is said!

Priests were in attendance to give the last rites of the church—from Pottsville, Minersville, Heckshersville, and Port Carbon.

Men Went to Gallows in Pairs.—Originally it was planned to hang the men three at a time, but even the sheriff balked at this appearance of wholesale slaughter. So the plan was changed to hang but two.

At 10.54 o'clock necks in the crowd began to stretch and twist, with some indication that the great moment was about to become a reality.

From a little doorway in the rear end of the yard approached the first of the mournful little processions—James Boyle and Hugh McGeghan, with the sheriff, two priests and prison officials. The men walked up the gallows stairway with a firm step, placing themselves in proper position for hanging.

All formed a strange sight—the men in commonplace clothing, the priests in black cossacks, white surplices and black stoles bound with white, with white crosses on either end, and praying fervently.

McGeghan was a large burly man; Boyle was much lighter. The former gave close attention to the priest, but the latter paid more attention to a rose which he carried and held to his nose.

At eleven o'clock a distant shot ran out, but when this slight disturbing incident and the toll of the hour on the court house clock had died down, the men shook hands with officials and prepared for the end.

Death Comes to the Mollies. — At 11.10 white caps were placed over the heads of the condemned; a sharp click, a deadened fall and two Mollies dangled and twirled about at the law's end of two ropes which cut into their flesh and snuffed life and breath from their bodies!

The noose about McGeghan's neck was poorly placed, and instead of passing directly behind the ear, slipped toward the front. His death must have been a terrible one; for four full minutes after the drop he was shaking with convulsions.

Boyle was pronounced dead in ten minutes; McGeghan in fifteen.

Then the traps were reset and two more were soon on their way to the great adventure. The next pair appeared at 11.51. Carroll and Roarity were to be the men whose sudden drop was to warn the remaining men that life indeed would from then on be short.

Again a shot was fired in a distant part of the town, but it did not ruffle anyone and the business of saying prayers and asking forgiveness was carried out as with the others.

The drop was sprung at 12.21; at 12.33 Carroll was dead; at 12.37 Roarity had joined him.

Having heard the dull thuds of those who had gone before, and with intermittent sunshine and sky-overcast, it must have been a pretty tough march for Munley and Duffy from the jail to the gallows. It was becoming more or less monotonous to both officials and crowd, by the time the last two appeared, at 1.10.

At the conclusion of the services, one of the priests made a side-remark to Duffy, who was heard to say: "There's no use saying anything," and Munley, when the sheriff whispered to him, replied with a shake of the head, said in a low tone: "Too late!"

It was too late for these men, and the others, for at 1.18 the drop again fell, and the last of a wholesale hanging was concluded. Again the knots were bungled, but both men were pronounced dead at 1.33.

Five of the Mollies were buried in their neighborhood, a special train being assigned their families by the railroad company. Munley was buried at Harrisburg. Carroll and Duffy's remains were taken to Tamaqua; and the bodies of McGeghan, Roarity and Boyle were taken to Summit Hill.

The Hangings at Mauch Chunk.—The four Mollies executed at Mauch Chunk were Michael Doyle, Edward J. Kelly, and Alexander Campbell, convicted of the murder of John P. Jones, and John alias "Yellow Jack" Donohue, for the murder of Morgan Powell.

Here, as at Pottsville, there was considerable excitement. Ordinarily a quiet, picturesque village, the county seat became alive with expectation. Never before, nor since, had four men come to a moment of paying with their lives for crimes committed.

It was a day long to be remembered by the witnesses. For hours the crowds had been gathering, and milling about. At about half-past eight on this 21st day of June, 1877, the Easton Grays, soldiers in full uniform and amply supplied with ball-cartridges, marched up the street, and took positions as guardsmen in front of the jail.

The scaffold was erected in the corridor, jurors and deputy sheriffs taking their places between the scaffold and entrance to the jail; newspapermen were assigned to places in front of the upper tier of cells.

Alexander Campbell came first, with a firm step. Then followed Doyle, Donohue and Kelly, each carrying a crucifix, and each closely followed by one of the priests in attendance.

Doyle seems to have been the most composed of the lot, for he was the only one who uttered words of

intelligence, somewhat to the effect that had he obeyed the priests and kept out of secret societies he would not have been there then in that predicament.

Four Hanged Together. — Then came the moments of preparation—the sheriff and his aides prepared the men for their supreme moment; they were menaced, ropes placed about their necks, and white caps drawn over their heads. Campbell and Doyle were to drop two feet and six inches, and Donohue and Kelly somewhat over three feet.

The trap was sprung at 10.48 a. m., and we surmise that strong men turned their heads away from a sight such as this, as they must do when men today are seared with the heat of several thousand volts of electricity as they pay for their crimes in the electric chair.

Campbell and Doyle died without a struggle; Donohue struggled violently for nearly two minutes, and seeing this, a priest stepped up and anointed his hands, as if to ease the physical pain by a religious ceremonial.

Kelly struggled as if in agony, but he was dead in eight minutes. It was Campbell who had trouble to pass away, for his heart could be felt at the end of fourteen minutes.

Campbell and Doyle died with broken necks, and Donohue and Kelly met death by strangulation. At 11.30 the bodies of the four were cut down, and they were taken to the train for removal to former homes.

Thomas Fisher paid with his life, for that of Morgan Powell; and James O'Donnell and Charles McAllister paid their price for the death of Sanger and Uren, within a year at Pottsville.

"Pat" Hester, Tully and McHugh were hanged at Bloomsburg, Columbia county, on March 25, 1878, for the murder of Alexander Rea.

Thus we conclude the nasty, bitter story of men who put themselves and their cause before the law, as the average person has come to understand the history of the day in which the Mollie Maguires were on the loose.

There were twenty Molly Maguire hangings, 1877-1879:

1. **Martin Bergin**, from Tuscarora, executed at Pottsville on January 16, 1879, for the murder of Patrick Burns (at Silver Creek).
2. **James Boyle** (1852-1877, Storm Hill, Lansford, Carbon County; worked at No. 5 Colliery in the Panther Creek Valley, for the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal Company). Executed at Pottsville on June 21, 1877 for the murder of Benjamin F. Yost (killed Yost in Tamaqua on the morning of July 6, 1875). Yost was a police officer. He was shot and killed as he climbed a ladder to extinguish a street light in the town of Tamaqua. Judge Pershing presiding.
3. **Alexander Campbell** (1833-1877, Storm Hill, AOH treasurer and bodymaster; opened a hotel, the Columbia House, in Tamaqua; moved to Summit Hill, where he owned another tavern), hung at Carbon County jail (handprint on cell wall today) at Mauch Chunk, on June 21, 1877, for killing John P. Jones (at Lansford) and Morgan Powell. On April 14, 1874, "McKenna" became a member of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, sworn into the organization by Alexander Campbell, who would hang three years later on the basis of McParlan's testimony.
4. **James Carroll** (1833-1877; Tamaqua; AOH secretary; opened and ran the hotel called the Washington House in Tamaqua; took over Alexander Campbell's saloon in Tamaqua when Campbell moved to Summit Hill; the assassination of Yost was allegedly planned in Carroll's saloon), executed at Pottsville on June 21, 1877, for the killing of Benjamin F. Yost (killed Yost in Tamaqua on the morning of July 6, 1875). Judge Pershing presiding.
5. **John "Yellow Jack" Donahue** (Tuscarora; AOH bodymaster; convicted in the Thomas, Major, and James conspiracy cases), hung at Mauch Chunk, on June 21, 1877 (three Mollies—Donahue, Doyle, and Kelly—murdered mine superintendent John P. Jones in revenge for his decision to fire and blacklist striking miners; Donahue was held in Cell No. 12, Carbon County Jail), for killing Morgan Powell.
6. **Dennis Donnelly** (from Raven Run, AOH bodymaster), hung at Pottsville, on June 13, 1878, for killing Thomas Sanger and William Uren. (Mine superintendent Thomas Sanger and Welsh non-union miner William Uren were gunned down near Wiggan's Patch as they walked to work.)
7. **Michael J. Doyle** (1850-1877, from the Mollie Maguires' Laffee district; the lead prosecutor, mining company attorney Charles Albright, added color to the proceeding by appearing in court wearing his full Civil War Union Army general's uniform, complete with sword). He was hung at Mauch Chunk on June 21, 1877, for killing John P. Jones (a superintendent) and Morgan Powell.
8. **Thomas Duffy** (1852-1877, Tamaqua, AOH member, worked as an engineer at the Buckville Colliery), hung at Pottsville, on June, 21, 1877, for killing Benjamin F. Yost (killed in the borough of Tamaqua on the morning of July 6, 1875; Yost's assassins were two members of the Carbon County division of the Mollies, Hugh McGehan and James Doyle.) and John P. Jones.

9. **Thomas P. Fisher** (AOH delegate, opened Rising Sun Hotel in 1872, served as AOH county delegate for Carbon County; cell No. 8 Carbon County Jail), hung at Mauch Chunk, on March 28, 1878, for killing Morgan Powell.

10. **Pat Hester** (Minersville, most prominent AOH member in Northumberland County), hung at Bloomsburg, on March 25, 1878, for killing Alexander W. Rea. Judge Elwell presiding.

11. **Jack Kehoe** (Mahoney City, called "King of the Mollies," county delegate; ran the Hibernia House tavern in Girardville), hung at Pottsville, sentenced to be executed on April 16, 1877 but his cause was taken to the Supreme Court; he was executed on December 18, 1878 (pardoned by Governor Shapp in 1979), for killing F. W. S. Langdon (at Audenreid, Schuylkill County, on July 14, 1862).

12. **Edward Kelly** (1855-1877, AOH member), hung at Mauch Chunk, on June 21, 1877, for killing Superintendent John P. Jones, and Morgan Powell.

13. **James "Hairy Man" McDonnell** (Tuscarora), hung at Mauch Chunk, on January 14, 1879, for killing George K. Smith (in 1863).

14. **Hugh McGehan** (1852-1877, Summit Hill, AOH member, worked for mine superintendent John P. Jones, who blacklisted him), hung at Mauch Chunk, on June 21, 1877, for killing Benjamin F. Yost (killed in the borough of Tamaqua on the morning of July 6, 1875; Yost's assassins were two members of the Carbon County division of the Mollys, Hugh McGehan, from Carbon County, and James Doyle, also from Carbon County). Judge Pershing presiding.

15. **Peter McHugh** (Northumberland County), hung at Bloomsburg, on March 25, 1878, for killing Alexander W. Rea. (On the 17th of October 1868 Alexander Rea was on his way to Centralia when he was ambushed and murdered by a group of men who would later be identified as Mollie Maguires. Rea was murdered for a large sum of money that he was thought to have in his possession at the time of the attack.) Judge Elwell presiding.

16. **Thomas Munley** (1845-1877, Gilberton, AOH treasurer, worked at the Draper Colliery), hung at Pottsville, on June 21, 1877, for killing Thomas Sanger and William Uren. (Mine superintendent Thomas Sanger and Welsh non-union miner William Uren were gunned down near Wiggan's Patch as they walked to work.) Judge Green presiding.

17. **James Roarity** (1845-1877, AOH bodymaster, worked as laborer in No. 10 Colliery of the Lehigh and Wilkes-Barre Coal Company), hung at Pottsville, on June 21, 1877, for killing Benjamin F. Yost (killed in the borough of Tamaqua on the morning of July 6, 1875; Yost's assassins were two members of the Carbon County division of the Mollys, Hugh McGehan and James Doyle). Judge Pershing presiding.

18. **Charles Sharpe**, hung at Mauch Chunk, on January 14, 1879, for killing George K. Smith (murdered in 1863).

19. **Patrick Tully** (Glen Carbon), hung at Bloomsburg, on March 25, 1878, for killing Alexander W. Rea (a mining superintendent; about 9:30 o'clock on the morning of October 17, 1868, he was riding in his buggy on the highway in Conyngham township, Columbia County, in the direction of the Coal Ridge Improvement Company's colliery, and when near a roadside spring where had been erected a rude watering trough, he was fired upon and killed). Judge Elwell presiding.

20. **Peter McManus** (AOH bodymaster), Coal Run, Northumberland County. Hanged at Sunbury, Northumberland County, on October 9, 1879, for the murder of Frederick Hesser. The last Molly Maguire to be executed.

ALSO:

Michael Doyle (Shenandoah, of the Molly Maguires' Laffee district), charged with the murder of superintendent Jones; an alleged participant in the shooting of William "Bully Bill" Thomas and the murder of Thomas Sanger and William Uren; on February 1, 1876, convicted of first-degree murder. Fled the anthracite region and was never captured.

Thomas Hurley (AOH secretary), alleged to have killed Gomer James and to have participated in the attempted murder of "Bully Bill" Thomas and James Johns as well as the plans to assassinate Sanger and Uren. Fled the anthracite district. In 1876, Thomas Hurley was arrested in Colorado for the murder of James; he committed suicide rather than face trial.

Molly Maguire Notes:

--on January 18, 2013, Professor Kevin Kenny (Professor of History at Boston College) spoke on the Molly Maguires ("Who Where the Molly Maguires and Why Are They Important to Anthracite History?") at the Annual Msgr. John J. Curran Lecture, January 18, 2013, in Burke Auditorium, McGowan Business School, at King's College, 7 p.m. Prof. Kenny is the author of *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (Oxford University Press).

--Msgr. John J. Curran (1859-1936) was born in Hawley, PA, and worked as a breaker boy in his youth. After serving as an assistant pastor at St. Rose of Lima Church in Carbondale for eight years, he became the founding pastor of Holy Savior Church, Wilkes-Barre, in 1895. He then served as pastor of St. Mary's Church, Wilkes-Barre, from 1918 until his death in 1936. Known as "the labor priest," he became a personal friend of President Theodore Roosevelt and labor

leader John Mitchell, both of whom benefitted by his efforts to settle the historic anthracite strike of 1902. For the next three and a half decades he worked on behalf of mineworkers in the Wilkes-Barre/Scranton region. In the months before suffering a heart attack in April, 1936, he had been traveling to Washington, D.C., seeking assistance from the Franklin D. Roosevelt Administration to end a series of violent labor-management conflicts at several coal companies in the area. A state historical marker commemorating Curran's life and work is located on Penn Street, Wilkes-Barre, near Holy Savior Church. He is buried in St. Mary's Cemetery, Hanover.

End of Molly Maguire reign of terror.

(End of Molly Maguires, Part II)

We return to our look at the troubled times of the 1870s.

1323

Unsettled Labor/Management Relations in the Anthracite Fields, 1876—July 1877

Production figures for 1876 for coal mined by the D&H were down from 1875. In the *Carbondale Leader* of April 8, 1876, we read:

The D. & H. C. Co. has mined 374,428 tons of coal thus far this year, which is 272,556 tons less than was mined during the same period last year." (*Carbondale Leader*, April 8, 1876, p. 3)

On April 15, 1876, the D. & H. laborers at Rondout struck for higher pay. If the D&H can not ship coal via the D&H Canal, it will ship coal via the Erie Railroad.

"The D. & H. laborers at Rondout struck for high pay Saturday. They had been getting \$1 and demanded \$1.50. The *Freeman* says that the boats were to start up the canal on Monday, but it is announced that in case the strike continues here, no boats will be sent up and the canal will not be used. The company has already increased its shipments over the Erie road, and will use that and other lines as long as there are obstructions." (*Carbondale Leader*, April 22, 1876, p. 3)

In late June 1876, the D. & H. C. Co.'s shops and Van Bergen & Co.'s foundry were closed for a week:

"The D. & H. C. Co.'s shops and Van Bergen & Co.'s foundry have been closed this week, but work will probably be resumed next week." (*Leader*, June 24, 1876, p. 3)

On May 23, 1876, twenty five persons from Carbondale left for the Centennial city, to be present at the grand parade of the Knights Templar on Thursday. They were joined by large delegations of Knights Templar from Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. The Scranton Commandery were accompanied by the Brooklyn Military Band, from Brooklyn, Susquehanna County, who discoursed sweet music on the streets, *en route* for the depot.

“For Philadelphia. / Twenty-five persons left this city on Tuesday morning for the Centennial city, to be present at the grand parade of the Knights Templar on Thursday. About one hundred left Scranton, and four times that number Wilkes-Barre for the same purpose. The Scranton Commandery were accompanied by the Brooklyn Military Band, from Brooklyn, Susq. Co., who discoursed sweet music on the streets, *en route* for the depot. The weather has been very favorable for the Sir Knights and the friends who accompanied them. The parade at Philadelphia was one of the finest ever witnessed. / The following is believed to be a correct list of those who went from here: / MEMBERS OF THE PALESTINE COMMANDRY: / Hon. J. B. Van Bergen, Joseph Alexander, Jr., David Moses, Benj. F. Williams, Joseph Birkett, William Pettick, Dr. A. E. Burr, J. B. Keen, Waymart, M. C. Stanton, Waymart, A. B. Paine, Smiley, Frank Hughes, Ashley, R. B. Brockway, Pittston / ACCOMPANYING FRIENDS. / T. B. Vannan and wife, P. F. Bradford, A. L. Rose, S. B. Mills, Jr., Daniel Scurry and wife, Miss Hattie Dart, John S. Jadwin, Dr. Charles Burr, Dr. R. Ottman, Wm. A. Wurts, Edward Beatty, Mrs. Henry Johnson.” (*Carbondale Advance*, May 27, 1876, p. 3)

Members of the Pierce, Silkman, and Watt families enjoyed lengthy visits to the Centennial in Philadelphia during the summer of 1876.

“Mr. H. S. Pierce and family of Scranton have returned from a month’s sojourn at the Centennial. / Mr. and Mrs. Wm. M. Silkman of Scranton have returned from a five weeks’ visit to the Centennial. / John Watt and wife left for the Centennial on Wednesday. They will also visit Ocean Grove, Long Branch, New York, &c., before their return.” (*Carbondale Advance*, July 1, 1876, p.3).

A steady stream of coal was carried over the Gravity Railroad, "that great highway for coal," in September 1876, and a good pile was daily dumped at Honesdale.

"That great highway for coal, the gravity road, has been kept steadily running of late, and a good pile of coal is daily dumped at Honesdale. There are plenty of boats now, and there would have been plenty of boats at anytime if it had been so ordered. The want of boats was a slim excuse to stop mining every other day." (*Leader*, September 30, 1876, p. 3)

The newly-elected managers of the D&H in 1876 were announced in the *Carbondale Leader* of May 27, 1876, as follows:

“The following named gentlemen were recently elected managers of the D. & H. C. Co.: A. A. Low, R. L. Kennedy, James M. Halstead, LeGrand B. Cannon, George C. Ward, James Roosevelt, James R. Taylor, Thomas Dickson, John Jacob Astor, Thomas Cornell, W. J. Hoppin, J. P. Morgan and R. S. Hone.” (*Carbondale Leader*, May 27, 1876, p. 3)

On May 30, 1876, the Gravity Railroad, for some reason (possibly to limit the amount of coal sent to market) was idle:

“The gravity road was idle on Tuesday.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 3, 1876, p. 3)

Given the fact that there was a suspension of the mines and the Gravity road in early June 1876, it was necessary and essential that there should be a suspension of work in the Gravity shops. The *Carbondale Leader*, in reporting those facts, demonstrated its alarmingly parochial view of the corporate dynamics necessary for a company (the D&H) to be successful and profit-making, saying as the *Carbondale Leader* did, that the D&H “used” hundreds and thousands of laboring men and mechanics to conduct their business. “A community [Carbondale] whose prosperity or adversity can be made by the edict of a corporation, by a monopoly, is not,” said the *Carbondale Leader* in a sniveling and naïve observation in its issue of June 10, 1876, “the happiest in the world.” In the *Carbondale Leader* of June 10, 1876, we read:

“The D. & H. C. Co.’s shops in this city have been idle this week. A suspension of the mines and the gravity road made it necessary and essential that there should be a suspension of work in the shops. Some of the men there employed will undoubtedly be given employment each alternate week during the months of June and July; and some will not be given any work. The present state of things is not at all encouraging to hundreds and thousands of laboring men and mechanics who are wont to rely on the D. & H. C. Co. for employment, and the prospect, considering the frequent interruptions and suspensions, is to them discouraging in the extreme, as it would be to any other class of men, in any community, who were used in the same way. To submit gracefully and without complaint is almost impossible, but it must be done. A community whose prosperity or adversity can be made by the edict of a corporation, by a monopoly, is not the happiest in the world. Its ups and downs are frequent, and its business is often in a very uncertain condition. But it must not complain; it must keep quiet and hope for better times. Any other course would be improper and unreasonable.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 10, 1876, p. 3)

June and July 1876 were very quiet months in the anthracite region. The mules were taken out of the mines and set out to grass. The Gravity Railroad was run only every other week during June and July. Most of the breakers, including the big Lackawanna breaker, were not in operation.

“Another suspension of mining operations is in order. These things are so fashionable during the Centennial year that no one is at all surprised when the announcement is made. The present suspension, which is quite general throughout the coal fields, began on Monday, and will doubtless continue until the first of August, although as to that no one can presume to speak with any degree of certainty. In this vicinity there will probably be no mining for some time to come. The D. & H. C. Co.’s mules, which are used in all its mines in and near Carbondale, have been sent out to grass, and, in the opinion of ‘old stagers,’ who claim to know a thing or two about the sly and secret movements of the Company’s servants, they will not be brought back again until the first day of August, if they are then. Some of the mines down the valley will be worked each alternate week from now till August 1, but the majority of them will lie entirely idle during that time. The gravity road, which has been still as the grave this week, will be run every other week in order to convey the coal from the mines in operation. Not a single colliery owned by either of the members of the coal combination has been worked this week. The Company’s mines in the southern portion of the city had been worked for several weeks up to Saturday night, but they will not be worked again very soon. The big Lackawanna breaker has now been idle for several weeks more. The laboring people will be able to find but little regular occupation during June and July.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 10, 1876, p. 3)

In late June 1876, only a few thousand tons of coal were shipped over the Gravity Railroad per day, and that coal was from down the valley. Given this suspension of mining, the *Carbondale Leader* cheerfully noted, “all classes can celebrate the Fourth without having to work the next day.”

“The gravity road has this week been transporting a few thousand tons of coal per day from down the valley to Honesdale. The mines in this city are still idle, and will doubtless remain so during the month of July. There will be no mining done next week, nor will the gravity road run. The suspension comes in the right time, and all classes can celebrate the Fourth without having to work the next day.” (*Carbondale Leader*, July 1, 1876, p. 3)

At the end of July 1876, it was thought that the suspension would continue through August. The *Carbondale Leader*, once again, in its issue of July 29, 1876, proclaims its parochial understanding of the dynamics of marketing when it says: “The combination of monopolists keep the price of coal up in the market, and are bound to keep it up. If they would lower the price a little—and they could do so without injuring themselves in the least—their present supply would doubtless soon be exhausted and they could set the miners to work again.” In the *Carbondale Leader* of July 29, 1876, we read:

“A great many people have jumped at the conclusion that there would be a general resumption of coal mining after the present week. These people have been too hasty, and will be disappointed, we fear. There will be no mining next week, and probably not more than each alternate week during August. There is nothing at present ‘in the air’ to indicate that there will be any general resumption very soon. People may guess and hope and hope and guess, but it will do them no permanent good. The combination of monopolists keep the price of coal up in the market, and are bound to keep it up. If they would lower the price a little—and they could do so without injuring themselves in the least—their present supply would doubtless soon be exhausted and they could set the miners to work again. But they have combined on purpose to control the market and keep up the price of coal, and they are doing so right along. This is the chief reason why they cannot dispose of their coal. We hear it rumored that there are prospects of the combination dissolving, but we have not much faith in the rumors. It may be obliged to dissolve in time, and when this happens there will be better times among the miners. This has been by far the worst year for them which they have ever experienced, and it is high time that they were given steady work again.” (*Carbondale Leader*, July 29, 1876, p. 3)

In mid-August 1876, the Gravity Road and some of the mines in the Carbondale area continued to work.

“We have the pleasure of reporting that the gravity road and some of the mines in this vicinity have, contrary to general expectation, continued to work this week. How long this will continue without interruption from headquarters it would be idle to conjecture. There is no more demand for coal now than there has been for several weeks past. The works are liable to be stopped any day on the excuse that there are not boats in Honesdale. We shall not be at all surprised any day to hear that another suspension has been ordered. In these days the movements of the coal combination are not to be relied on.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 19, 1876, p. 3)

From an article that was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of August 26, 1876, we learn that the combination of the leading coal companies was dissolved on August 21, which made it possible for the various coal companies to sell coal at whatever price they chose.

“The combination of the leading coal companies was dissolved on Monday. This gives the different corporations the right to sell at whatever price they please. Five hundred thousand tons will be sold at auction next week, and of this amount the Del. & Hud. will furnish 100,000 tons, the purchaser to receive it at tide water.” (*Carbondale Advance*, August 26, 1876, p. 3)

Very capricious work schedule for the Gravity Railroad, late August-early September, 1876: two articles from the *Carbondale Leader*:

1. "The gravity road was idle from Friday of last week till Tuesday of this. It suspended again Wednesday noon, and will be idle until some time next week." (*Leader*, Saturday, August 26, 1876, p. 3)
2. "The gravity road was idle the latter part of last week. Work was resumed again on Monday and stopped on Tuesday at one o'clock in the afternoon. Then it was idle again until Thursday morning. No one seems to know how long it will be run without interruption." (*Carbondale Leader*, September 2, 1876, p. 3)

Five hundred thousand tons of coal were sold at auction by John H. Draper & Co. in Hanover Square, New York City on August 29, 1876. The coal was from four companies: Lackawanna coal by the Delaware and Hudson Canal company; Scranton coal by the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western company; Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron company; Pittston coal offered by the Pennsylvania Coal company. The coal sold at prices that were much lower than expected. D&H coal, widely regarded as superior coal, brought better prices than the others by an average of about forty cents a ton. Here is the complete report on the sale, as published in the *Carbondale Advance* of September 2, 1876:

"The Great Coal Sale. / NEW YORK, Aug. 29.—Hanover square was filled by an immense crowd before noon today, on the occasion of the sale of 500,000 tons of coal at auction by John H. Draper & Co. / The crowd began to gather long before 12 o'clock, the hour announced for the sale, and the stand of the auctioneer, which was erected in the open air, near one end of the square, was soon surrounded by the throng. A number of carts and drays which had been left in the neighborhood were quickly taken possession of, and every inch of standing room on them was occupied. / At precisely 12 o'clock Mr. Draper mounted the stand, and his appearance was hailed with a murmur of applause. He said that the sale was made by each of the four companies interested in its own behalf, and that the president of each company instructed him to say that the sale would be absolute, without limit, reserve or by-bidding. He then announced that he would sell, first, the offering of 110,000 tons of Lackawanna coal by the Delaware and Hudson Canal company; second, the offering of 110,000 tons of Scranton coal by the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western company; third, the offering of 200,000 tons by the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron company; and, lastly, the 80,000 tons of Pittston coal offered by the Pennsylvania Coal company. / Mr. Draper then immediately began the sale of the coal offered by the Delaware and Hudson Canal company, which is to be delivered at Rondout. Five thousand tons of strained coal [steamboat] were first put up, and the bidding began with spirit. The first sale was made at \$3, and the bidder, Mr. Ward, took one thousand tons. Other sales were then made at \$2.85, and the remainder of the stock was closed out at \$2.75. / Forty thousand tons of grate coal formed the next offering, the first bid taken being \$3.50. The next sales were at \$3.25, and the rest were

made at \$3.20. More than 15,000 were taken at the highest prices. At \$3.25 there was one purchaser of 5,000 tons by Winslow & Co. / The egg coal, including 25,000 tons, was next offered, and was quickly disposed of at \$3.25 and \$3.12 ½, Mr. Potts taking 5,000 tons at last-named figures. / The lot of stove coal, comprising 40,000 tons, was the next offering. The first bid accepted was \$3.80, and then, 1,000 tons having been sold there was a sudden advance to \$3.90, and the remainder was quickly taken at that price. There were several purchases of 5,000 tons each. [DL&W, Philadelphia and Reading, and Pennsylvania Coal Company coal then sold] / Mr. Samuel Sloan, president of the Delaware and Lackawanna company, said that the prices obtained at the sale to-day are much lower than was expected. But they are a peace-offering to the public. / A. S. Swords said that the object of the coal combination had been to diminish the supply by taking measures to prevent over-stocking the market, but that now the same effect had been brought about; production would be stopped because coal could not be gotten out of the mines and delivered at the present prices. / Other retail dealers expressed like opinions, and while acknowledging that the price of coal would come down, added that it could not keep down, because it could not be supplied at these rates.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 2, 1876, p. 2)

A report on “the great coal sale of August 29” was also published in the *Carbondale Leader* of September 2, 1876, p. 2. Here are some statements from the concluding paragraph of the *Leader’s* account (which was a reprint of the account of the sale from the *New York Sun* of Wednesday):

“The average prices [of the coal sold by the four companies concerned] in August were, for steamboat coal, \$4.55; grate, \$4.70; egg, \$5; stove, \$5.60; chestnut, \$4.65. It will be seen, therefore, that the average decline in price at this sale has been looked forward to by all concerned to fix prices for the present. . . An officer of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company attributed to the superior quality of the Delaware and Hudson coal the fact that it brought better prices than the others by an average of about forty cents a ton [emphasis added]. They will issue to-day a circular for September deliveries, giving rates at about twenty cents a ton over the auction prices.”

Early September 1876: a considerable number of workers were discharged from the D&H company's shops, and the wages of those who remained would probably be reduced. In the *Carbondale Advance* of September 2, 1876, we read:

“Reduction! Reduction! / A considerable number of hands have been discharged from the company’s shops and works here, this week. It is also said that wages are to be reduced. The same thing is in progress all over the country. The result will inevitably be more farmers, cheaper produce, and less men on the public works, and at business centres. In other words, there will be more producers, and a less number of consumers in proportion to the producers. If we must have low wages, we must also have low prices for the necessities of life.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 2, 1876, p. 3)

It was announced in early September that the D&H miners would be put on half time and that the railroad men upon two-thirds time for the remainder of the winter. In addition, the hours of the men in the D&H shops were kept at 8 hours per day.

“We learn that the miners of the Del. & Hud. Canal Co. have been put upon half time, and the railroad men upon two-thirds time, for the remainder of the winter. The shopmen are still working but eight hours a day.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 8, 1876, p. 3)

On September 15, 1876, Robert M. Olyphant became assistant president of the D&H Canal Company. He was born on September 9, 1824. He was the younger brother of George Talbot Olyphant. In 1873, Robert M. Olyphant retired from the mercantile business. During the early seventies, he was a Manager of the Company, and one of his sons, Harwood V. Olyphant, became the assistant president of the D&H on February 5, 1874; Harwood died on October 18, 1875 in London. Harwood’s father, Robert, succeeded to his late son’s office as assistant president, becoming, on the death of Thomas Dickson, the president of the company.

An interesting, but sniveling, article on the finances of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company was published in the *New York Sun* in September 1876; the article was reprinted in the *Carbondale Leader* of September 16, 1876. Here is that article:

“THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL COMPANY. / The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company has not escaped the effect of the break-up of the coal combination, and the consequent fall in the price of coal. Like many other companies it enlarged its capital, increased its debt, and extended its operations in the season of prosperity, and now that of adversity has arrived, it suffers for its imprudence. The motto which was engraved on the unlucky Italian’s tombstone, might be placed at the head of its balance sheet: ‘I was well. I wanted to be better; and I am here.’ Its dividends of ten per cent. per annum have already been reduced to eight, and for the next two or three years must stop altogether; its shares, which used to be quoted high up among the hundreds, are now at 70; and its obligations, which once ranked as first-class, are suspected and taken with hesitation. When the company was first chartered, fifty years ago, its capital stock was fixed at the modest sum of \$500,000. By successive enlargements this was increased until, at the beginning of the war, it stood at \$7,500,000. Under the stimulus of paper money inflation, and the enormous advance of coal, a stock dividend was made in 1864 of \$2,500,000, raising the capital to \$10,000,000. Another issue of \$5,000,000 was made in 1869, and \$5,000,000 more in 1874, so that the total amount of the stock is now \$20,000,000. The bonded debt has likewise been increased from almost nothing in 1860 to over \$15,000,000 at

present, so that the aggregate liabilities of the company on its own account are more than \$35,000,000. But, besides this, it owes, as lessee of various railroad lines, an annual rental amounting to the interest at seven per cent. on \$29,000,000. Before the shareholders can receive any dividend the company must, therefore, earn the interest on \$44,000,000, and \$1,400,000 more are required to pay them seven per cent. on their investment. To represent its enormous amount of capital and debt, the company has to show its canal from the Hudson to the Delaware and the short rail-road connecting the canal and the coal mines; its leased railroads, extending from the mines to Canada; its coal lands, and its real estate in this city [New York]. The canal is practically worthless, being superseded by the railroads, and costing quite as much for repairs as the tolls amount to [emphasis added]; and the leased railroads only earn a little more than half their rental [emphasis added], leaving a deficiency of about \$1,000,000 annually, so that upon the coal lands and the city real estate falls the brunt of paying both this \$1,000,000 of rental, the interest of \$15,000,000 of bonds, and the dividends on \$20,000,000 of capital stock. The city real estate cannot be relied upon for much, if any, profit, consisting merely of coal yards and a costly but unproductive office building in Cortlandt street; and the whole problem resolves itself into determining how much money can be derived from mining and selling coal. For the year ending December 31, 1875, the company mined and purchased about 3,000,000 tons of coal, which it sold for about \$12,000,000, or an average of \$4 per ton. The net profit on these sales was about \$3,300,000, or \$1.10 per ton. Out of this there was paid for interest \$823,000, and for loss on leased railroad lines \$1,000,000, leaving for the shareholders \$1,476,000, or about seven percent. on \$20,000,000. The prospects for the current year are that the product will be only 2,000,000 tons, its price only \$2.50 per ton on an average, the interest accrued \$1,050,000, and the loss on the leased lines considerably more than \$1,000,000. Admitting that reductions in wages and expenses will reduce the cost of the coal to \$2 per ton, so that it yields a profit of fifty cents, and that the leased lines are no more burdensome than they were last year, the income account of the company will stand thus: / Interest on bonded debt....\$1,050,00 / Loss on leased lines.....\$1,000,000 / Total\$2,050,000 / Profits on 2,000,000 tons of coal at 50 cents 1,000,000 / Deficiency.....\$1,050,000 / This certainly is not an encouraging outlook for the shareholders, and it is no wonder that the price of the shares falls at the Stock Exchange. / There is a further element to be considered in forecasting the future of the company, and that is the possible working out of the coal lands upon which, as we have seen, depends its ability not only to pay dividends but to meet over \$2,000,000 of rent charges and interest. How many acres there are of these lands, where they are situated, and how much coal within reach they contain, the company has never reported; but it has already taken from them something like 30,000,000 tons of coal, and is going on at the rate of from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 tons annually. It seems only reasonable to conclude that sooner or later it will exhaust all its coal which can be mined at a profit, and then it must purchase new lands or suspend business.—New York Sun." (*Carbondale Leader*, September 16, 1876, p. 2)

See also:

Official statement from Thomas Dickson, dated September 12, 1876, of the affairs of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company (statement published originally in “the financial columns [sic] of the *New York World* of Tuesday” and reprinted in the *Carbondale Leader* of September 23, 1876, p. 3). Appended to that statement is the “Condensed Balance-Sheet, Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, December 31, 1875” of which President Thomas Dickson speaks. That balance-sheet is from the *Financial Chronicle* of May 13, 1876, p. 470.

In mid-September 1876, coal stocks on the stock market in New York tumbled at a fearful rate. It was said by some writer for the New York daily newspapers that the coal companies would not be able to pay dividends for several years to come.

“Coal Stocks Tumbling. / Some brokers in New York are making a fat thing in *bearing* coal stocks. They are tumbling at a fearful rate. Even Delaware & Hudson has been down to 64, but has now rallied a little. D. L. & W. and New Jersey Central have been down also. Writers in some of the New York dailies claim that these companies can pay no dividends for several years to come.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 16, 1876, p.3)

At the same time (mid-September 1876), work in the mines, in the shops, and on the railroads in Carbondale was going on very well.

“Work in the mines, in the shops, and on the railroads here, is now going on very well. The countenances of all our people are more cheerful. No. 3 shaft is yet idle.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 16, 1876, p. 3)

As soon as there is a general revival of trade, the D&H, said the directors, is in a position to do a very prosperous business. D&H stock, they said, is worth considerably over par on their books, placing the coal lands at a fair valuation.

“The Directors of the Delaware and Hudson Company have made a statement in which they claim that the stock is worth considerably over par on their books, placing the coal lands at a fair valuation, and they insist that there is nothing to warrant the late decline in the stock, and that the company is in a position to do a very prosperous business as soon as there shall be a general revival of trade.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 30, 1876, p. 3)

During the first week of October, 1876, 11,672 cars of coal were loaded at D&H mines, 7,836 of which went to Honesdale. During the canal season in 1876, 731,810 tons of coal were shipped to Rondout, a decrease of 464,022 tons over 1875. These facts we know from the following article that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of October 14, 1876:

“The gravity road still keeps carrying a good quantity of coal to Honesdale. The number of cars loaded at the mines last week was 11,672, 7,836 of which went to Honesdale. There were 42,112 tons of coal carried on the canal, making a total for the season of 731,810 tons. Last season, up to the same date, 1,195,833 tons were transported to tide-water, which shows a decrease of 464,022 tons this year.” (*Carbondale Leader*, October 14, 1876, p. 3)

On the Pennsylvania Division of the D&H, in 1877, the passenger engines and cars were equipped with the Westinghouse air brake.

After a work stoppage of several weeks, the miners at No. 1 and No. 3 shafts, who being idle for some time past, were set to work again on Tuesday morning, January 2, 1877. The official reason given for the work stoppage at those shafts was that the mine inspector found them to be illy-ventilated. Miners in the know, however, understood that those mines had been closed because the company (in order to control production) did not care to keep them working:

“The miners at No. 1 and No. 3 shaft, who have been idle for some time past, were set to work again on Tuesday morning. Work was stopped at these mines several weeks ago ostensibly because they had been pronounced by the Mine Inspector to be illy-ventilated, but really because the company did not care to keep them working. Some of the leading miners whose work when they have any is in these mines took the trouble to call on one or two of the chief managers, in order to learn the true state of affairs, and to see if it was not possible for them to set the willing workers to labor again. The result was that an order was issued and the miners resumed work as stated above.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 6, 1877, p. 3)

On January 20, 1877, Henry Coon was attacked and robbed by a highway robber a short distance from the Erie breaker. The robber got no money, but he took from Coon’s pocket a jack-knife, an old account-book, an empty pocket-book, and one or two other useless things which he found therein. Then he disappeared into the darkness and has not been seen since. Coon was assaulted by the robber and left on the railroad tracks to be run over by the eight o’clock train which was due in a few minutes. Coon was found by Constable Moran, who took him to a house and

relieved him of his sufferings as much as it was possible to do without a physician. Coon was washed and given a little stimulant, after which he felt able to walk up town. He went to the office of Drs. Blakeslee and Moroney where his wounds were dressed. Here is the account of this shocking crime that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of January 27, 1877:

“KNOCKED DOWN, BEATEN AND ROBBED, AND LEFT ON THE RAILROAD TRACK. / Henry Coon is an industrious and peaceable citizen who lives on A. B. Durfee’s farm near No. 4. Last week he worked in the vicinity of Winton cutting mine ties. On Saturday night shortly after dark he started for his home on foot. He had a safe though lonely journey until he reached that point in the highway where it crosses the railroad a short distance from the Erie breaker. Coming north on the highway a person crossed the railroad from west to east. Just as Coon stepped on the railroad track he was stopped and accosted by a man with a drawn pistol, who, in the common parlance of the average highway robber, demanded, ‘Your money or your life!’ Coon asked the ruffian what he meant, and was quietly given to understand that the robber meant just exactly what he said. Coon said he had no money with him, which was a true statement, but the ruffian seemed to think differently, and knocked Coon down with the butt of his pistol. After that the robber kicked Coon in the head and face, pounded him until he thought he was insensible, rifled his pockets, and then left him there to be run over by the eight o’clock train which was due in a few minutes. The robber got no money, but he took from Coon’s pocket a jack-knife, an old account-book, an empty pocket-book, and one or two other useless things which he found therein. Then he disappeared into the darkness and has not been seen since. The ruffian is supposed to have known that Coon had been working at Winton, that he thought Coon had some money about his person, and that it would be a good time to waylay him and rob him of his hard-earned wages. The robber was mistaken in his suppositions, for Coon had not received his pay, although the miners and railroaders had received theirs. / Shortly after Coon was left by the desperate highway ruffian he came to himself and was suffering severely from the wounds in his head. He was found there by Constable Moran, who took him to a house and relieved him of his sufferings as much as it was possible to do without a physician. Coon was washed and given a little stimulant, after which he felt able to walk up town. He went to the office of Drs. Blakeslee and Moroney where his wounds were dressed. There were three large cuts on his head, his face was cut, bruised, and disfigured, and there were bruises on other parts of his person. While in the office he had a fit of vomiting, but was given something to relieve him and strengthen him. The only description Coon seemed able to give of the robber was that he was a man of medium stature, and he spoke like a German. The story he told of the assault was substantiated as related above. It is evident that the robber felt certain that Coon had received his pay sometime during the week, and that he would be apt to have the amount of his wages with him when he went home on Saturday night. In this he was nicely fooled, and must have felt very much disappointed when he discovered that he had got a pocket-book without any money in it. There appear to be plain facts enough in the case to lead to the detection of the highway robber. He is undoubtedly a resident of the valley—one of those lawless characters who live on the

earnings of honest people, and one who would not scruple to do the blackest deeds in order to get money. / Coon was taken to his home in a sleigh by Dr. Moroney, since when he has been recovering from his wounds quite rapidly.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 27, 1877, p. 3)

The *Carbondale Leader*, in its typically negative manner, cast many aspersions at the D&H in its issue of February 17, 1877, as follows:

“There are some things in the management of the D. & H. C. Co. that are expected to come to light before long. The great fall in the price of its stock will undoubtedly be laid at the door of one or more gentlemen prominently connected with the management for some time past. That there is something rotten in its affairs is strongly hinted at by a great many people, and the day will probably come when the true state of things will be known to the public. Like many another great concern which has flourished for years under able management, it seems likely to fall on account of a lack of wisdom in some of those who have hitherto stood high in its councils. The D. & H. has been a prosperous monopoly, but its most prosperous days appear to be past and gone forever. For the good of the numerous gentleman and families who hold its stock we hope it may revive again, but the prospect is dark and gloomy enough just at present.” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 17, 1877, p. 3)

Declining prices for D&H stock in February 1877, said the *Carbondale Leader* in its issue of February 17, 1877, are a consequence of the D&H's having leased railroads at a high rate and having branched out into fields in which it had no business. Bankruptcy, said the *Carbondale Leader*, seems to stare the D&H in the face.

“Delaware and Hudson Canal stock has been falling rapidly in the market of late, and the public will not be at all surprised if that company is put in the hands of a receiver at no distant day. From 122 which the stock brought in the market one year ago it has fallen below 50, and probably before the close of the month it will go down to 20 or less. So long as this company conducted its business on the sound old principle and confined itself to its legitimate business just so long did it make money and declare dividends to its stockholders; but, when it began to lease railroads at a high rate and to branch out into fields in which it had no business, it began to lose money fast and has continued to lose ever since. There is no help for it now. The roads which it has leased and built within the past six years are not paying concerns; on the contrary, they are sucking the life-blood from the company; and they will not pay for years to come. The D. & H. C. Co. is to be pitied. Bankruptcy seems to stare it in the face.” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 17, 1877, p. 3)

In March 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* continued its attack on the D&H, calling the company a monopoly that "keeps its miners in a state of continual anxiety, now suspending, now working for a month, and then again throwing them out of employment for months at a time." The miners, said the *Carbondale Leader*, "are treated as brutes by the D. & H. C. Co., which seems to have no regard for either their welfare or their feelings":

"The monopoly keeps its miners in a state of continual anxiety, now suspending, now working for a month, and then again throwing them out of employment for months at a time. This usage is discouraging in the extreme, and the miners now out of work know not what to do. The monopoly, when it suspends at any particular works, never stoops to tell the miners how long they have got to remain idle; and when the monopoly makes up its mind to resume, it gives the men but a day's notice. The miners are treated as brutes by the D. & H. C. Co., which seems to have no regard for either their welfare or their feelings. As long as the company sees fit to stop work, it ought to be decent enough to tell the men how soon thereafter they can expect work again." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 10, 1877, p. 3)

During 1877, the depression of that decade reached its lowest point, marked by repeated wage reductions, particularly among the railroads.

The effort to displace the directors of the D&H by a receivership in March 1877 failed of success. An interesting discussion of the company's financial position at that time was published in the *New York Sun* in March 1877, and reprinted in the *Carbondale Leader* of March 17, 1877:

"THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL COMPANY. / The effort to displace the directors of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company by a receiver has rightly failed of success. The company is not technically insolvent; that is to say, it can yet borrow money from day to day with which to meet its immediate liabilities; and if its stockholders are dissatisfied with the present Board of Directors, they have the remedy in their own hands by electing a new board at their approaching annual meeting. Besides, the plaintiff in the suit for the receivership was so evidently a dummy, moved by persons who keep out of sight, that it would have been a perversion of judicial process to grant his demand. / All this, however, does not render the present directors any less guilty of a gross mismanagement of the company's affairs, and of a suppression of facts amounting to positive misrepresentation. In the statement which they put forth to the public, only a fortnight ago, they withheld much information which has come out under the present recent application for a receivership. They said nothing, for example, concerning the amount of coal they sold in 1876; it now appears that it was a little less than 2,000,000 tons. They concealed the difference between the average price received for their coal

before the disruption of the coal combination last August and that received since; it now turns out that prior to Dec. 31, 1876, there was a decline; of \$1.04 per ton—namely, from \$4.56 to \$3.52--and that since then it has fallen 27 cents more, namely, to \$3.25. Again, while they deny that their brick and plate glass palace in Cortlandt street brings in a rental of only two per cent. per annum on its cost, they do not say what the rental actually is; and as to the all-important point whether their business as now conducted is a gaining or a losing one, they give us no facts upon which an opinion can be formed. / Fifteen years ago, when the company was substantially under the same management as at present, it had a capital of only \$10,000,000, and an inconsiderable debt, yet it was able to mine and bring to market 1,000,000 tons of coal yearly. Since then it has increased its capital to \$20,000,000, and its bonded debt to \$15,000,000; and it has assumed liabilities in connection with leased roads, upon which the loss, over and above all returns, equals the interest, according to the directors' affidavit read in court on Tuesday, of a capital of \$6,000,000. Altogether, therefore, it has now to earn from its coal business alone the interest on \$21,000,000 in order to avoid bankruptcy, and dividends on \$20,000,000 of capital stock, in order to give that stock any value. Its investments, therefore, dependent on coal profits, amount to \$41,000,000 to-day, against \$10,000,000 fifteen years ago, while its coal business is but 2,000,000 tons yearly now, against 1,000,000 tons then. Moreover, for the sake of covering up the true condition of the company as long as possible, a dividend was paid last August, which stripped the treasury of every available dollar, and has compelled the company since to go around borrowing money with which to pay running expenses. /. These are the plain facts of the case, which no shield of respectability can hide. If the stockholders are content with them, it is their own affair; but those who are thinking of buying stock or investing in the company's bonds had better make further inquiries before they part with their money.--*New York Sun*." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 17, 1877, p. 2)

In its issue of March 24, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* attacked Thomas Dickson, saying that "Carbondale would doubtless be much better off to-day if Mr. Thomas Dickson was entirely out of the management of the D. & H. C. Co. and a receiver or a new President put in his place." Here is that article:

"Carbondale would doubtless be much better off to-day if Mr. Thomas Dickson was entirely out of the management of the D. & H. C. Co. and a receiver or a new President put in his place. The company will have its annual election of directors and officers in May, and it is to be hoped that Dickson will be removed. If the stockholders understand the situation and are allowed to have a voice in the matter, they will undoubtedly vote for a change. If, however, Dickson and some of the leading directors can get enough of the stock to vote themselves into office again, they will very likely do so. It was not a good thing for Carbondale when Dickson wormed his way into the management of the D. & H. C. Co. Our people, both miners, laborers, business men, mechanics, and others, now see plainly what an enemy they have had in the head and front of the monopoly; and they do not hesitate to express their honest convictions in regard thereto. Dickson, instead of

being an enemy to the place where he was a poverty-stricken youth, and where he saw the beginning of his pecuniary success, ought to be a friend to it in every way. One would think, if he were a grateful man, that he would have a little feeling for the town in which he emerged from poverty to semi-competence. But he seems to have forgotten that he was once as poor as are some of the miners now, and to have not a particle of sympathy or feeling for them." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 24, 1877, p. 3)

In the May 26, 1877 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, it was announced that "Three weeks from now [mid-June 1877] the general suspension will begin and continue for one month."No coal will be mined. The Gravity Railroad will not transport coal. Hundreds of mechanics, machinists, miners, and laborers in this city and suburbs will be out of work."

"Three weeks from now the general suspension will begin and continue for one month. If no coal is mined during that time of course the gravity road will not transport any coal, and the shops will do but little. The forced idleness will extend to hundreds of mechanics, machinists, miners, and laborers in this city and suburbs, and business will be comparatively dull for a brief season. Rigid economy will have to be practiced in a great many households this summer." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 26, 1877, p. 3)

On Thursday, June 17, at Carbondale City Hall, a meeting of the miners and laborers was held "for the purpose of hearing the report of a delegation appointed to wait upon Mr. Vandling to state certain local grievances, the most prominent of which was to get the 15 per cent. back, if possible, and to get the amount of docking lessened, which has undoubtedly been carried on to a frightful extent of late." Here is the report on that meeting that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of May 26, 1877:

"THE FEELING OF THE MINERS. / The following communication reached this office a little too late for our last issue: / At the meeting of the miners and laborers held at the City Hall on Thursday evening, June 17, for the purpose of hearing the report of a delegation appointed to wait upon Mr. Vandling to state certain local grievances, the most prominent of which was to get the 15 per cent. back, if possible, and to get the amount of docking lessened, which has undoubtedly been carried on to a frightful extent of late. The delegation reported that the company could do nothing for the miners; that it is too poor to give them any advance at present; and that it wished the men to understand that the company wants justice for the amount of coal that is mined. If that is the case, who are the instigators of such nefarious proceedings as taking one ton of coal each day from the meagre earnings of each two miners? We ask, who are the instigators of it? It must be the local bosses. After the report had been accepted the chairman introduced Mr. J. R. Thomas, of Scranton, who delivered a very elaborate address on the duty which we owe to ourselves and the duty which we owe to our country, saying that labor—the

bone, muscle, and sinew of the working people—has built up the institutions of liberty in this great and glorious Republic, and that now the workingmen cannot get the necessities of life. The following preamble and resolutions were then presented: / WHEREAS, All men are endowed by the Supreme Being with certain inalienable rights. Among these is the right to labor and receive a just recompense for such toil. He who said, 'by the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread,' and that 'the laborer is worthy of his hire,' gave man plainly to understand that when capital is created by labor, labor should share its benefits. Another of these rights is freedom from oppression. The Reading Railroad Company, in its recent order to its engineers, through its President, is aiming to annul these rights by endeavoring to overthrow the organization of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, for the purpose of destroying the power and influence of that society, that it may oppress the members thereof, and that it may say, 'you shall work for such wages as we choose to give or else leave our employ.' Therefore be it / *Resolved*, That we do recognize in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers an organization that has for its aim the mutual benefit of members and the best interests of the traveling public. / *Resolved*, That we, the workingmen of Carbondale, hereby tender the Brotherhood our sincere sympathies, and such assistance as we may be able to give. / On motion, these resolutions were endorsed and read, and ordered to be printed in our city papers." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 26, 1877, p. 3)

In the period June 15, 1877—July 15, 1877, no coal was mined by the D&H or shipped on the Gravity Railroad.

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Miners on Strike: July 28, 1877--October 18, 1877

There was violence in Scranton on August 1, 1877 that was associated with the strike. Patrick E. Spellman witnessed the violence. In the portrait of the man in *PABRLC* (pp. 776-77) we read:

"August 1, 1877 he stood on Lackawanna Avenue, corner of Franklin Avenue, when the striking miners were shot down by the vigilance committee on the corner of Lackawanna and Wyoming Avenues. He saw the dead and wounded lying on the street and Father Dunn administering the rites of the church to the dying."

About the man's life and work career, we read in *PABRLC*:

"PATRICK E. SPELLMAN, special officer for the Delaware & Hudson Railroad at their depot in Scranton, was born in Honesdale, Pa., February 12, 1849, and is of Irish parentage and descent. His father, Michael Spellman, son of William, a farmer, was born in County Sligo, where he grew to manhood, meantime working on the home farm and learning the trade of stone mason. After his marriage to Ellen Helena, a native of the County Mayo, in 1847, he came to

America and proceeded at once to Honesdale and Carbondale where he was employed in the construction of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, his work being principally aqueducts. In May, 1854, he came to Scranton with William J. Morgan, working under the superintendence of James Archbald, chief engineer, in the employ of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad. He retired from active work in 1885. . . / When five years of age the subject of this sketch [Patrick E. Spellman] was brought by his parents to Scranton. . . At the age of twelve he began to work as a slate picker in the coal department of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Company, and later was employed in the mines. . . [Following service in the Civil War he returned to Scranton and worked for eighteen years in the express business.] . . . April 1, 1890, he entered the employ of the Delaware & Hudson Railroad Company as special officer at their depot, in which capacity he has since been employed."

The strike of 1877 was under the auspices of the Knights of Labor, then a new organization, which was gathering mighty strength every day. There had been agitation among the miners for many weeks, but the stoppage was precipitated by the general strike of the railroad men, which occurred in July, paralyzing for a time the business of the country. The miners were idle perforce, there were no facilities to ship their coal, so they struck. In a few days the railroad troubles were adjusted. The miners remained out. Then came that bloody day, August 1st, 1877, when three miners were shot in the street. This tragic incident embittered the feeling against the corporations, and the strike continued for more than three months.

The headquarters of the strikers was in Morgan's hall, on the West Side. From this headquarters words of encouragement were sent out to the strikers. Relief committees were organized, and solicitors went out through the city soliciting aid. The poor board co-operated with the relief committee in establishing a relief store on Lackawanna Avenue. The miners held frequent meetings at the round woods, at which there were stirring addresses. Hon. T. V. Powderly, the late James R. Hickey and the late Joshua R. Thomas were among the leading speakers. Late in October a big demonstration was arranged. The men paraded through the streets, bearing banners, with such legends as "Solid for Six Months". The speeches were appeals to the miners to stand firm. They were greeted enthusiastically. Three days afterwards the men resumed work, without any advance in wages. The strike was a failure.

A very good description of this peaceable strike was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 4, 1877.

"THE MINERS' PEACEABLE STRIKE. / ALL THE MINERS IDLE BUT ALL OF THEM QUIET AND ORDERLY—THE CAUSE OF THE STRIKE—ALL THE SHOPMEN SUSPENDED. / All the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company's mines in the valley have been idle since Saturday [emphasis added], and are likely to remain so for some time

to come unless the company allows the increase of wages which the miners have justly asked for, and which they need in order to live as they ought to be permitted to live. For the past year the wages of the hard-worked miners have been gradually reduced, until now they are scarcely able to earn enough to buy flour for their families. The reductions have been made from time to time—ten per cent. in one month, and again ten per cent. a month or two after—so that when the past spring arrived the wages were so far below living wages as to make the miners think seriously of striking for that which they really deserved and needed. After three or four reductions had been made, the company, feeling somewhat ashamed to come out boldly and dock the miners another ten per cent., commanded that they should mine 2,700 pounds of coal for a ton [emphasis added]. This proceeding was plainly a further reduction of wages in an underhanded way; but the miners, after holding several meetings, and after sending committees from their number to the officers of the company to ask that they not be required to mine so many hundred pounds more than a ton for a ton, and getting so little satisfaction from the officers, concluded to continue working until something further should be developed. Their wages were very low, yet many of them argued that it was better to work for what they were receiving than not to work at all, while others claimed that they might just as well starve without pretending to work as to starve while working and receiving nothing for their labor. Matters went along in this way for three or four months. The miners were given ‘steady’ work, as the company was pleased to call it, but ‘steady’ meant scarcely half-time at the lowest possible wages. Many a miner in this city has worked a part of each week-day in the month, and how much wages has he drawn on pay-day? Some of them solemnly assert that they have received as little as \$7 for a month’s work. Hundreds of them have not been permitted to earn more than \$12 or \$15, while very few of them have made as high as \$20 a month. They worked whenever the company said they might, and took whatever the company said it would pay. When pay-day came very many of them had hardly enough money to purchase the plainest necessities of life, yet they labored patiently, hoping that the company would soon come to see that it was impossible for them to work for the low wages they were receiving; yet every day they sorely felt the injustice which they were laboring under. Their occupation was a dangerous one, their labor was hard, and their prospects for the future were dark so long as they consented to work for the mere pittance which they were receiving. Is it any wonder, then, that in time they should ask to be allowed to earn enough for their hard work to keep themselves and families in the real necessities of life? It is well known among those who are acquainted with the miners and the life of the miner that, in many a chamber where four stalwart men were working together, not more than two dollars per day could be earned by the four—only fifty cents apiece per day. Let all classes of people take this matter right home to themselves, and then they can readily imagine how they themselves would feel if they were placed in these miners’ positions. / As stated in our last issue the miners held several meetings last week, at each of which the situation was fairly and freely discussed by intelligent speakers. It was decided that a committee should be appointed who should present the case of the miners to the chief officer of the coal department. This committee was instructed to lay the facts before that official, to ask a reasonable increase of wages, and to get his answer to the miners’ just demands. The committee went to Scranton on Friday of last week to confer with

the official in question, and on Friday evening several hundred of our miners met at the ball grounds above the depot, where they were to hear the report of the committee who were to reach Carbondale on the eight o'clock train. It had been decided beforehand that, in case the committee failed to get any satisfaction from the representative of the company, the miners should peaceably strike at six o'clock on Saturday afternoon. The committee arrived on the eight o'clock train; and immediately proceeded to the ball grounds to make their report. The members were met and cheered by the large body of orderly men there assembled, and, as their report was unfavorable to the miners, and inasmuch as the company's representative had given them not the least satisfaction, the miners all knew that a strike would begin on Saturday at six o'clock. Speeches were made by different men on the grounds, and the spirit of peace and good order prevailed throughout the throng of sober and law-abiding men. When the decision had been made known to every one of the downtrodden miners, they all quietly started for their homes. They worked as usual on Saturday, but when six o'clock arrived all work at once ceased. / At four o'clock on Monday morning a large number—perhaps three or four hundred—of miners might have been seen in and around the yards above the depot from which the coal trains for the north are sent out. Two or three coal trains were in readiness to start over the Jefferson Branch, but they were prevented from going. There has been no coal shipped over the Jefferson this week, and not a car-load has passed over the gravity road [emphasis added]. The cars that were loaded late on Saturday, and those which were along the line of the gravity road when work ceased on Saturday afternoon, are now just where they were left then. The passenger and freight trains on both the locomotive and gravity roads have not been interfered with in the least. The miners are idle, the breakers are quiet, a score of locomotives are at rest in the round-house, the whistles on the gravity engines have been muffled, there is no puffing of steam to be heard, no volumes of steam to be seen rising from the many lately busy places, the mules have been taken to the pasture in the adjoining country [emphasis added], the miners, slate-pickers, mule-boys, switch-tenders, engineers, firemen, runners, brakemen, pulley-greasers, and many others are at rest from their labors, and comparative stillness reigns. / There has been a concert of action between all the miners of the D. & H. C. Co. from here to Plymouth and those in the employ of the D. L. & W. Co. None of the mines of the latter company are now being worked. The miners demanded an increase of twenty-five per cent. which the company refused to grant. / On Monday our Carbondale miners were numerous on the streets, but they were all quiet, and were mainly engaged in discussing the situation. They are determined to hold out until such time as the company shall see fit to be just with them. Many people express the opinion that the miners will be assisted to hold from work until the company is compelled to come to their terms which are conceded by everybody to be very reasonable. We hope they may do so, and trust that they will get their just dues before many weeks shall have passed away. They can endure a strike now much better than they could in the winter season. Since the strike began the city has been more quiet and orderly than ever, and there is not the least danger of any lawless acts being committed. This community will take good care of itself without any outside assistance. / When the company

learned that the miners had ordered a strike, a command was sent out to this city to have all work in the car, blacksmith and machine shops suspended on Saturday. Consequently there has been no work done in either of those shops this week [emphasis added]. The number of men and boys all told who have been out of employment this week in this immediate vicinity is probably not far from two thousand [emphasis added]. A few of this large number have been able to find employment for a time at some other work, but the proportion is very small. The majority of the strikers can live very cheaply, for the most of them have cows and gardens [emphasis added]. / We remember never to have experienced so quiet a time in Carbondale as at present, and we doubt if all lines of business have been so dull in many a year as they are now. Let us hope, however, that it will not long continue as it is.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 4, 1877, p. 3)

With a strike going on in August 1877, most of the grocery and dry goods stores in Carbondale closed for the day at about sundown every evening.

“Since the strike began the majority of our grocery and dry goods stores have been closed at about sundown every evening. There have been few exceptions to this rule, but not many. The most of the merchants agreed on Monday to close their business places each evening before dark, and they have all lived up to their agreement. This course has been taken because trade is remarkably dull at present. It is not much duller now, however, than it was during the greater part of July, but it is expected that it will be still duller before the present month comes to an end.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 4, 1877, p. 3)

The strike of July 28, 1877—October 18, 1877 is also well described in an article that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of the following week. The format of the description of the strike in this instance is very interesting: it's in the format of a Letter to the Editor of the *Carbondale Leader* from "We, the miners and laborers of Carbondale."

“THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE HALF-STARVED MINERS PLAINLY STATED. / *To the Editor of the Leader.* / SIR: We, the miners and laborers of Carbondale, employed by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, consider it to be our duty to present a brief statement of our present condition; and, in order to lay a calm, comprehensive, and impartial statement before the public, it is necessary for us to take a retrospective view of the prices paid in 1876. In the beginning of 1876 we were paid 71 cents per ton of 2,200 pounds gross, making a ton 2,464 pounds net. Miners’ tonnage per chamber of four men, thirteen and one-half tons per day, which in the aggregate amounts to \$9.58. Deducting \$2.00 per day for expenses, blasting powder, oil, wick, paper, fuse, and general wear and tear of tools, two laborers’ wages \$3.60 per day, leaving a balance of \$1.99 per day for each miner. This was what

we considered scant living prices. When we take into consideration the high prices paid for provisions and the expenses necessary to keep a family, likewise the maintenance of those free institutions which are allowed us by the Commonwealth of these United States, such as benevolent societies, &c. On August 1, 1876, we were notified of a 10 per cent. reduction, which altered our figures to 64 cents per ton, thereby reducing laborers from \$1.80 to \$1.60 per day; miners to \$1.80. On February 1, 1877, the long ton, which is properly speaking, 2,700 pounds gross, 3,024 net, was required of us, which was a reduction of about 21 per cent. to laborers, leaving them but \$1.29 per day; miners to the tune of 26 per cent., making their pay \$1.33 per day. During all these reductions we succumbed peaceably, knowing that the company and the country in general were in a very depressed condition. During all these reductions our mine supplies were not reduced a particle. We paid the same prices for all our supplies as we did when we were earning the highest rates of wages. But the end was not yet. On February 15 we were notified, per circular, of another reduction of 15 per cent., which literally brought us down to mush and milk. Numbers could not afford even milk, unless they had cows of their own. At this crash they reduced the mine supplies as follows: Powder that had previously been \$3.00 per keg to \$2.50 per keg; oil that was 90 cents per gallon to 80 cents; leaving the laborer \$1.09 per day; miners \$1.13 per day. And now, fellow-citizens of this land of liberty, virtue, and independence, we request you to divide these figures by two—we having had only half time during the past spring and present summer—and you have the average amount of wages earned by miners and laborers working in chambers. Men in headings and airways are paid for cutting, which brings them a little over regular miners’—another important question, these being the highest figures made. Then follows in the train the tyrannical dictation that is exercised over us in docking. We are mining one and one-half tons for a ton, and if there is one piece of slate or sulphur to be seen in the car, 1,000 pounds are deducted; and if there happens to be a shovelful of culm in the same car they add an additional 500 pounds, which averages in the month from eight to ten per cent. We are employed every day at this half-time, having to go to the mines twenty-four or twenty-five days, as the case may be, in the month, and receive the small pittance of \$11 or \$12 per month. Now our demand is simply the fifteen per cent. increase and long ton off, which we consider to be fair. Any man who looks at our statement impartially will see that it is in keeping with the principles of eternal truth and righteousness. Look at these figures squarely and fairly in the face and you will see whether we are justified in this our present struggle for bread. We are aware that some people will say that there are a surplus of men in the coal regions. But to such we would say we are too poor to move away, and we hereby urge you to see that your Congressmen pass the Bank’s bill, so that men of industrious habits can settle on public land and not only benefit themselves, but also benefit the general Government as well.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 11, 1877, p. 3)

During the suspension of work in the mines, it was mandatory that the pumps to expel water from the mines be kept running. That work was carried out during the suspension by the company bosses.

“Stopping the Pumps. / Since the suspension of work in the mines, the pumps have been kept running, mostly by some of the Company’s bosses. / They were all visited by a delegation of men during Thursday night and ordered to stop work. Whether the action was by a regular committee of the miners, or a self-constituted one we are not informed. A stoppage of the pumps for many days would involve a very serious loss, and require weeks or months to throw out the water so that work could be resumed.” (*Carbondale Advance*, August 11, 1877, p. 3)

By mid-August, the only new development in the suspension was the resumption of work in the Locomotive Repair Shop, S. H. Dotterer, in charge.

“The Situation Here. / The only change in the situation here worthy of mention, is the resumption of work in the Locomotive Repair Shop, in charge of S. H. Dotterer. / The mines are idle. / The Company’s shops with the exception above noted are idle. / Van Bergen & Co’s Foundry and Machine Shop is idle. / Passenger and freight trains are making regular trips upon the railroads, North and South. / Perfect peace, order and quiet prevail in town. Business of all kinds is very dull.” (*Carbondale Advance*, August 11, 1877, p. 3)

In 1877 the D&H was forced to discontinue the payment of dividends, and during four years the owners of its share capital received no return. Dividend payments were resumed in 1881.

On August 11, 1877, a 104-page report was prepared by a committee of D&H stockholders on the business, operations, history, policies, prospects and equipment of the company. In *Century of Progress* (pp. 268-75) we read the following about that report:

“Beginning with the coal department, it appears that the company owned twenty-one workable mines, thirteen of which were ‘wrought through shafts, and eight through slope and drift openings’ together with seventeen breakers and two chute buildings all in good order and that another shaft and breaker were nearly completed. Underground there were one hundred and forty-six miles of railroad in all, fifty-nine miles of T-rail, thirty-eight miles of strap-rail, and forty-nine miles of wooden tramway, forty horses and five hundred and twenty-six mules. For canal purposes the company owed nine hundred and fifteen canal boats, sixty-six transfer-boats, sixteen barges, three freight-line boats, two wrecking boats and one propeller. . . . In the Northern railroad department, which included the leases Susquehanna and Saratoga divisions and the New York and Canada, there were 619.40 miles of track, of which 262 miles were laid with steel rails. In the Southern railroad department, south of Nineveh, there were 105.64 miles of ‘locomotive road,’ of which 50.53 miles were laid with steel rail, exclusive of additional rail for gauge requirements through certain distances, and also 42.07 miles operated under contracts with

other companies. Commenting on the Gravity road, a part of the Southern railroad department, which had 80.80 miles of track, the report mentions that the loaded track, 26.31 miles in length, was all steel, that the light track, 29.92 miles in length, had eight miles laid with steel, and that with the appliances at Honesdale it had a capacity of handling one thousands of coal an hour, and adds: 'It is a device necessary for the passage of a mountain range which separates the company's mines from some of its lines of transportation. To pass the range, by an ordinary locomotive road would involve the construction of a double-tracked road, fifty-six miles in length, with a grade against traffic of forty feet to the mile.' There was at this time no passenger stations on this road; but passenger cars had been run on it since April 5, 1877, and during May of that year about eight hundred dollars was received in fares. / As to the Albany and Susquehanna the report concluded: 'The road, its structures and equipment were in bad condition. The gauge, which was six feet, isolated the line from the roads of the Delaware and Hudson and all connecting corporations, except the Erie. It was necessary, therefore, to lay a third rail in order to secure proper connections. This, and the gradual replacement of equipment suited to the new gauge of four feet eight and hone-half inches, and relaying the road with steel rails, involved heavy expenditures for a number of years. / . . . As to The Champlain Transportation Company, the report states that the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company holds the controlling interest in its stock, and that it owns 'on Lake Champlain three steamboats, and on Lake George two steamboats.' . . . / At the time of the preparation of this report the business of the company was divided among departments as follows:[emphasis added] **Coal department**, charged with everything pertaining to the care and maintenance of the company's mines, mining and loading of coal and its delivery to the Southern railroad department; [**Southern railroad department**] this last named department, operating and maintain the company's railroad lines in Pennsylvania, including the Lackawanna and Susquehanna road to Nineveh; **Canal department**, operating and maintaining the canal; **Rondout department**, handling and delivering all coal received by canal and settling with boatmen for freights and constructing and repairing canal coats; **Harbor and Yard department**, in charge of the New York City, Brooklyn and Weehawken yards and depots, and all matters relating to expenses on coal in New York harbor; **New York Sales department**, charged with sales of coal at tidewater and settlement of river and railroad freights; **Western and Southern Sales department**, in charge of sales of coal at interior points; **Real Estate department**, charged with the care of the company's real property, maps, and records, and with the collection of rents and payment of taxes, and **Northern Railroad department**, charged with operating and maintaining the leased railroad lines. Each of these departments had a responsible head with full authority, under general instructions from the president and Managers, and under the immediate supervision of the general manager. . . / In regard to the character of administrative management that accompanied this framework of organization the report was extremely complimentary, and declared: 'There can be no other corporation in which exact results are kept more constantly in view than are those of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, by its President and General Manager. The mining day closes at four o'clock P.M. * * * By 4:30 P.M. on each day, it is known exactly how many car

loads, tons and hundred-weight of coal have been produced on that day at each colliery; where each car load has been sent; how much coal has been received at Honesdale; the number of car loads received, and of empty cars returned; the number of canal boats loaded—in transit—arrived at Rondout, and the number of light boats returning; the quantity, size and location of all coal on hand; the vessels in waiting for cargoes; where and for what sizes of coal. An abstract of all this is sent every day by telegraph, and a detail copy by mail, to the President and General Manager. The mileage of freight, passenger, mixed and construction trains is sent daily by the railroad superintendents to the President and General Manager. The receipts from passengers, freight and miscellaneous sources are sent weekly.’ / After stating that each department makes a monthly report to the general manager, from which he prepared his report to the president, there follows: / ‘In this connection it may be said that your committee were particularly struck with the system of government, which is *a system of individual responsibility coupled with commensurate power*. Each head of a department is absolutely supreme within his division. He acts under general instructions only, and all details are left to him; but he is held accountable for results. This system extends throughout the whole service. Both President and General Manager, from life long experience, are familiar with details, yet they do not interfere with the methods of superintendents so long as the results are satisfactory. This system produces the perfection of discipline, stimulates ambition throughout the whole force, promotes the growth of men, and wins for the corporation and its executive an intense loyalty. The opposite policy subverts discipline, kills ambition, and makes mere machines of discontented men.’ / . . . The committee also reported that all of the property of the company was in excellent condition.”

Not surprisingly, the *Carbondale Leader* regarded the financial position of the D&H in 1877 presented in that report not as a consequence of the times, rather as a consequence of mismanagement on the part of its officers and directors:

“The grand examining committee of the D. & H. stockholders, who made their flying visit to these parts some time ago, and who ‘you tickle me Billy and I’ll tickle you’ report has recently been published in the company’s ‘organs,’ assert that ‘The depressed condition of its activities is due chiefly to the low price of coal.’ Is that so? Are there not other causes, immense moguls of the mammoth monopoly? Many persons are of the opinion, which they do not hesitate to express freely, that mismanagement, the leasing of railroads, paying more for locomotives, etc., than they could be got for, high salaries to useless favorites and employes, pensions to aged relatives, bad contracts, and other leaks which it is not necessary to name, have had much, very much to do with the ‘depressed condition of its securities.’ It is not alone the low price of coal by any means which has brought the stock of the company from more than 120 to less than 50. The price of the stock went down long before the price of coal did, and the wise members of the committee therefore appear to offer a pretty lame excuse when they talk in this way.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 25, 1877, p. 3)

The tension between management and labor mounted by mid-August 1877. Some of the out of work miners deliberately set out to damage company property by stopping some of the pumps. Others prevented a coal train from leaving the D&H yard. Most of the miners and laborers, however, continued to conduct themselves like gentlemen and deprecated anything like lawlessness.

“The Situation. / Things seem to remain in *status quo*, and there is no present prospect of a resumption of mining operations. The miners do not manifest any disposition to yield, and not a word is heard from the companies. What makes matters worse is the apparent disposition on the part of some of the men to injure the company’s property by stopping the pumps and letting the mines fill with water. Such proceedings injure the very cause they are expected, by some, to help. / The Del. & Hud. pumps from here to Plymouth, we learn, have been stopped, but some have again started. / An attempt was made on Monday afternoon to stop the pumps at the L. I. & C. Co.’s mines at Scranton, but without success. The military now have charge of the works. We learn that at a meeting of the rolling mill hands, 90 voted to resume work at present prices, and 70 against. / Last Friday afternoon, after we went to press, a large body of young men went to the pump houses in this city and to the Erie Shaft below town, and compelled the stoppage of the pumps. The Erie was afterward started, but none of the others. The same party prevented a coal train from leaving the yard, the same day. / On Wednesday an effort was made to stop the pumps at Jermyn’s collieries at Jermyn and Green Ridge, but without success. / While there are a few turbulent spirits, the great bulk of the miners and laborers, we are happy to say, have been conducting themselves like gentlemen, and, we believe, deprecate anything like lawlessness. In a short time, let us hope, all the troubles, both of the companies and the employees will cease, and brighter days dawn for all.” (*Carbondale Advance*, August 18, 1877, p. 3)

During the difficult summer of 1877, there was a significant increase in the number of picnics that that were held. Church picnics, class picnics, family picnics, clique picnics, neighborhood picnics, croquet picnics, ladies’ picnics, gentlemen’s picnics, and many other picnics which cannot properly be classified. The most of Carbondale’s pic nics have been held no further away than six miles, the fares have been low, and the cost light. No extensive excursions have been held, and no expensive trips have been indulged in. The amusement has been cheap, light, innocent, and gay; and many a day has been passed in hilarity which might, had it not been for the picnics, have been spent in gloomy indolence and doleful loneliness. Here is the report on the summer picnics in 1877 that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of September 8, 1877:

" 'The harder the times the more picnics and frolics there are,' remarked a very observant individual to the writer the other day; and we really believe the old man was quite correct in his observation. Carbondale has this summer experienced a greater stagnation in business than she has ever known in any one summer before, and she has also turned out much larger number of

picnic parties than in any previous season. Picnic has followed picnic in rapid succession during the last two months, and one would think that the need had been nearly reached. There have been church picnics, class picnics, family picnics, clique picnics, neighborhood picnics, croquet picnics, ladies' picnics, gentlemen's picnics, and many other picnics which cannot properly be classified. In fact, the pleasure may be said to have been almost overdone. The taste for picnics has grown to be a mania in certain quarters; it has spread like the spelling-school mania did some time since. The cause of so many picnics this summer may perhaps be sought and found in the fact that our people have been unprecedentedly idle this season, and in the further fact that, while our people have not been blessed with a superabundance of ready cash, the picnics have been cheap affairs, and have afforded the picnickers a vast amount of pleasure for a very small outlay of money. The most of Carbondale's picnics have been held no further away than six miles, the fares have been low, and the cost light. No extensive excursions have been held, and no expensive trips have been indulged in. The amusement has been cheap, light, innocent, and gay; and many a day has been passed in hilarity which might, had it not been for the picnics, have been spent in gloomy indolence and doleful loneliness. To the children particularly has the picnic season been one of uncommon exuberance of joy, and a delightful admixture of unalloyed freedom and unchecked fun. Some writer has said that picnics were invented especially for children; but whether this is or is not so, it is certain that children of a much older growth have, in a number of instances, monopolized the invention to the disgust of the little ones, and to their sorrow as well. In very busy times there must be something to divert the minds of persons who work hard either with their brains or hands, and in dull times entertainments of some kind must be gotten up to 'kill time,' if nothing more. The picnic season of 1877 may now be considered to be closed, and the gay picnickers will now be obliged to resort to some other form of amusement to while away their idle hours. This will not be a difficult thing to do, but the amusements from this time on will have to be less of a wholesome character than they have been for the last two or three months." (*Carbondale Leader*, September 8, 1877, p. 3)

Many of the bosses who have worked for the D. & H. C. have been mean and overbearing and heartless, said the *Carbondale Leader* in its issue of September 8, 1877. Further, said the *Leader*, the D&H has been repeatedly known to get rid of some of its most capable and gentlemanly employees, and to fill their places with men not nearly as competent and manly as the ones they discharged. Here, then, is yet another anti-D&H invective from the *Carbondale Leader*:

"—Some of the meanest men to whom situations could be given have worked for the D. & H. C. Co., and some of them are still working for it—not as common laborers, but as 'bosses' and overseers. It has been frequently claimed that a man could not hold a situation in that concern unless he was quite as mean and overbearing and heartless as he could very well be, but that assertion is altogether too sweeping, as everybody hereabouts must know. The company employs

some good men in this vicinity—men with hearts and souls, who have some feeling for the men who work under them. It also employs some of the most insolent men that could be found, and these, while they may be just such employees as the company likes are greatly disliked by their subordinates. The monopoly has been repeatedly known to get rid of some of its most capable and gentlemanly employees, and to fill their places with men not nearly as competent and manly as the ones they discharged. To a careful observer it would seem that the more heartless and mean and contemptible a man was the greater his chances for retaining his place for a long space of time would be. This may not be so, but we say that in many cases it seems so. A prominent position in the employ of the company, it seems to us, has a great effect on the disposition and character of some men, making them mulish, haughty, and lofty, in many instances, and in others depriving them of their manhood, and causing them to become the basest kind of pliable tools and cringing toadies. Such an effect cannot be produced on a man composed of the right kind of material,—a man of manhood and independence—even if he does work for this company. If *men* desire to keep their places in this company let them keep their principles to themselves.” (*Carbondale Leader*, September 8, 1877, p. 3)

On Saturday, October 6, 1877, a public meeting was held at Carbondale City Hall, at which John B. Chisholm, the representative of the miners, reported on his meeting with D&H President Thomas Dickson on the state of affairs and request by the miners for an increase in wages. President Dickson, in writing, responded, in part, to the request by miners saying that “we have no new terms to offer; and that in the present condition of the trade it is simply impossible for us to make any advance upon the wages paid in July—and the only hope there is for an advance is in an increase in the market value of coal sufficient to warrant it. / When this advance takes place, the claims of the men will be fully and fairly considered in the future as they have been in the past.” Here is the account of this October 6, 1877 meeting that was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of October 13, 1877:

“Large meeting of Carbondale Miners. / A little enthusiasm was afloat in this city on Saturday evening, when the news was spread abroad that John B. Chisholm, the representative of the miners, had returned from Scranton, and the report of the conference with President Thos. Dickson was to be made known. A meeting was called for 7 o’clock in the City Hall, and before that time the house was filled with men evidently a little anxious to hear the true state of affairs, as many rumors had been disseminated more to excite the minds of those directly interested than otherwise. / The meeting was called to order by the election of M. Barber to the chair and John Lannon secretary. / The report was called for, by motion, Mr. Chisholm reading the minutes of the convention of miners from the outset of the movement of requesting an interview with the President. He also read the letter of request, which was as follows: / *Dear Sir*—At a meeting of the delegation representing the employees of the following companies, viz: D., L. & W. RR. Co., D. & H. Canal Company and the Pennsylvania Coal Company, the undersigned were instructed

to appear to the Presidents of said companies for an interview, in order to accomplish an amicable settlement of the present difficulty and thereby remove the obstacles to resumption. The delegation consists of five from each of the said named companies, and desire to meet the presidents of the same in this city, [Scranton,] if possible, at the earliest period convenient to them, or if necessary in the city of New York. Hoping that you will grant our request, we have the honor to remain, sir, yours very respectfully, / J. H. Powell, Chairman, D., L. & W. RR. Co. / Henry Martin, Vice Chairman, Pennsylvania Coal Company. / John B. Chisholm, Secretary, / D. & H. Canal Company. / P. S.—Please reply to the chairman, J. H. Powell, Hyde Park, Pa. / Owing to Pres'ts Sloan and Hoyt's inability through pressing business to meet in N. Y. city, the men were referred to their respective Supt's, but Mr. Dickson, President of the D. & H. C. Co., signified his willingness to meet his men any time they wished to state. Through Mr. A. H. Vandling, sup't coal dep't, a meeting was agreed upon by the delegation and Mr. Dickson on Friday at 10 A.M. They convened in the D. & H. Office at Scranton. The delegation presented through their chairman, John B. Chisholm, a proposition which was drafted to present to the presidents in joint session, but owing to their meeting by companies it was changed to suit accordingly. It reads as follows: / GENTLEMEN: In appealing to you for this conference we are actuated by the sense of duty to your interests and the companies you honorably represent, as well as our own and the thousands that we also have the honor to represent here to-day. Your employes being aware of the ruinous results of strikes, and realizing that prolonging the present strike would only add to the enormous loss already incurred by the companies, ourselves and the business of the Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys in general, we appeal to you for this conference, believing that an open and fair discussion of the questions at issue may have a tendency to enable us to agree on some honorable compromise of the difficulties now existing between the companies and their employees. It is through your kindness and generosity, gentlemen, that we have met here in conference to-day, and we hope that an amicable settlement of this lamentable strike will be accomplished before we adjourn, in order that the terrible deadlock may be broken and the gates re-opened for a general resumption of industry in these two valleys. We believe that most, if not all, of the past strikes could have been avoided by a proper understanding between the companies and their employes; and, whereas, the interests of both are identical, and it is of the greatest importance that harmony and good feeling should prevail, in order to avoid these great calamities, the results of dissension and antagonism. / Labor and capital have their respective rights, and it is due time that the limits of both should be defined, so as to avoid further dissensions and strikes, and that they may move harmoniously together. / It would be hardly just and fair in you, gentlemen, to hold your employes accountable for the present strike. They were carried away, as you are aware, from their posts of duty by the great tidal wave that swept lately over our country, and which stopped for a short period every branch of industry, nearly, from Maine to California. We may have erred at the commencement of this ruinous struggle in making a demand which the price of coal in market would not warrant at the time. We admit this blunder on our part, and we are willing to apologize for it. The companies have, no doubt, committed many grave mistakes in the past as well. But, gentlemen, it is our desire to-day to bury the past and inaugurate an era of harmony and good feeling for the

future. We are not here to dictate any terms to you. On the contrary, we only ask you to meet us on the grand and manly platform of conference. Other companies of the Wyoming Valley have met their employes on the same platform, and we have come here to-day inspired with the utmost confidence in your honor and manhood that you will treat your employes with equal respect by granting them at least the same advance as has been granted by other companies to their's. This gentlemen, is the prayer of your delegation, and we sincerely hope that it will be granted by you. / After which Mr. Dickson, at the request of the chairman, reduced his answer to writing in order that there would be no misconstruction put upon his words, which were as follows: / PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, DELAWARE & HUDSON CANAL COMPANY, / SCRANTON, Oct. 5, 1877. / In reply to the communication made to me through the committee of miners, I beg to say that we have no new terms to offer; and that in the present condition of the trade it is simply impossible for us to make any advance upon the wages paid in July—and the only hope there is for an advance is in an increase in the market value of coal sufficient to warrant it. / When this advance takes place, the claims of the men will be fully and fairly considered in the future as they have been in the past. / THOS. DICKSON, Pres. / Mr. Chisholm stated he had some few remarks to make here in regard to the conversation which passed between the delegation and Mr. Dickson, and they should be given in the same spirit as they were received—in a calm, cool and collected manner. He said the company had lost one million of dollars last year in the shipment of coal, and it was not so much of a loss for the company to remain idle as to ship coal and lose to the same extent as they had done last year.—Also, he stated, a great many people and newspaper men especially had circulated the report that he, Mr. Dickson, was a very austere, imperative kind of person to approach, but he wished it to be thoroughly understood among the employes of the D. & H. C. Co. that if they have any grievance to make, any wrongs to right, that he has always made it a point to treat his workingmen with respect and always would do so as long as he was president of the company—as he was himself a workingman and understood the feelings and how he wished to be treated when an employe of the same company that he is now president of. / After the report was delivered, a motion prevailed to accept it, and the committee was continued. / A motion was made to reject the proposition of the President, which was carried unanimously—not as stated in Monday's *Scranton Republican* '5 votes recorded'—it was not so. / A motion to adjourn was put and carried, after a quiet and orderly meeting. C" (*Carbondale Advance*, October 13, 1877, p. 3)

Here is the account of that October 6, 1877 meeting at Carbondale City Hall that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of October 23, 1877:

“A LARGE PUBLIC MEETING OF MINERS AT THE CITY HALL. / At seven o'clock on Saturday evening the City Hall was filled with representative miners who assembled for the purpose of listening to the report of Mr. Chisholm, the gentleman who had previously been appointed a delegate to confer with the officers of the D. & H. C. Co. to see if a compromise

could not be effected. After the meeting had been called to order Mr. Chisholm read the address which he had the day before delivered to President Dickson, and also informed the meeting in detail of the conference between the representatives of the miners and President Dickson. He made a succinct yet plain statement of the proceedings, and then gave the result of the conference which was embodied in a written document which the men whom he represented has requested him to get from President Dickson. The paper stated in substance that, in the present condition of the coal trade, the company could agree to no advance on the wages of July, that the prospect of the trade would not warrant an increase of the miners' wages, and that, if the miners would go to work, their demands would be considered just as soon as the price of coal would warrant. Mr. Chisholm said that Mr. Dickson received him very politely and talked very reasonably. He said that Mr. Dickson wished the miners in the employ of the D. & H. C. Co. distinctly to understand that he was their friend, and that he thought of the days when he, too was a laboring man. He wished to impress the fact upon the minds of the miners that, if any of them ever had any grievances which they wished to lay before him, they could telegraph to him at once and he would always be glad to meet a proper committee of them at the earliest opportunity. He wished to be considered their friend every time. President Dickson also told Mr. Chisholm that the company would lose more money by mining coal at the rates of wages which the miners insisted upon receiving than it would to let all its works lie idle. He was sorry, of course, that it was impossible for the company to pay the miners the amount of wages which they thought they ought to receive, but he thought that if they went to work they would do better than to remain out of employment. Mr. Chisholm made no endeavor to influence the men either way, but delivered to them the simple facts as he had received them. Very few other parties had anything to say. A man who works for the Erie company attempted to make a motion which was thought by some to be somewhat irregular, but that case was soon settled. The meeting was a very orderly and quiet one. A vote was taken to decide whether the proposition of the President should be accepted or not, or in other words, to see whether or not the men would consent to resume work at the July wages, and the meeting was unanimous in favor of still refusing to go to work without a raise [emphasis added]. All the business was transacted in about an hour, and shortly after eight o'clock the meeting adjourned." (*Carbondale Leader*, October 13, 1877, p. 3)

The strike which began on July 28, 1877 came to an end 69 working days later (11 ½ weeks) on October 18, 1877. The miners did not get the raise in wages which they had demanded, and went to work again. The Gravity road was set in motion on Wednesday the 17th, and the men employed in the shops went to their labors on eight hours per day. The mine cars were oiled on the 17th as well, and other things connected with the mines were put in order. The report by the *Carbondale Leader*, given below, on the end of the strike concludes with this positive and optimistic statement:

"Other parts of the county are in a comparatively flourishing condition, and, now that all of our local industries have once again been set in motion, it is safe to predict that this section will soon enjoy a season of prosperity such as it has not known during the last two years, and that we shall all speedily recover from the depression which the late panic and the more recent strike compelled us to experience and to endure."

Here is the complete article from the *Carbondale Leader* on the end of the strike of 1877:

"THE GREAT STRIKE AT AN END. / ALL THE MINERS GO TO WORK AT THE JULY RATE OF WAGES. / The miners have failed to get the raise in wages which they demanded when they struck on the 28th of July, and have gone to work again. The strike has continued for sixty-nine working days and nothing has been gained; in fact, much has been lost. For eleven weeks and a half have thousands of miners in this valley lain idle in the vain hope of having their wages raised to a living rate, and now they resume work on the same wages which they received before the strike began. Only one week ago last Saturday they all voted to continue on strike, but a close observer could then have seen that the strike was on its 'last legs,' and that the yell of 'solid for six months' was a phrase of empty words. / President Dickson, who was here last Saturday, had told all the miners that a raise of wages could not be granted them at the present prices of coal. He then advised them to go to work at once, and intimated that if the Carbondale miners went to work first they would be given steady work for the next six months. From that time until Tuesday there was a growing tendency among the men to resume work without any further delay, and, when a vote was taken, three to one voted in favor of resuming. The miners in other parts of the valley were likewise of the opinion that it would be useless to remain longer on strike, and the good news was circulated that a general resumption of mining would take place the middle of the week, or as soon as everything could be got in readiness. Some the mines down the valley were started on Monday, others on Tuesday, and the remainder of them on Wednesday, and now they are all working on full time. The men go to work under protest, it is said, but they see a long winter staring them in the face, and if they can get steady work all winter on full time they will do much better, of course, than they have been doing for the past eleven weeks. / The gravity road was set in motion on Wednesday, and the men employed in the shops went to their labors on eight hours per day. Van Bergen & Co.'s Foundry was also set in motion on that day. The mines which supply coal for the big breaker were in readiness at any time, as there had been no water in them. No. 3 shaft, in which the pumps commenced to work two or three weeks ago, is now free of water, and No. 1 shaft and Powderly's mines are in a working condition. The mine cars were oiled on Wednesday, and other things connected with the mines were put in order. There was activity all around. The trains on the Jefferson Branch were made ready for the shipment of coal, and many railroad men, who have been idle so long, were called to duty once more. In the early morning our streets once more presented their old-time appearance of industrious activity, and hundreds of men and boys were seen on their way to work with their tin dinner-cans in their hands. The puffing of steam,

the ringing of locomotive bells, the shriek of scores of whistles, and all the other old familiar noises denoted the resumption of work, and awoke the sleeper from his morning's slumber. It is a pleasure to again see the activity which has been absent so long from our principal industries, and it is hoped that nothing will check it for months to come. All the productive energy of this section which has voluntarily been unproductive for so many weeks, is now in a fair way to benefit itself and the community at large. It is needless to review the struggle between capital and labor, any more than to remark that, in this latest attempt to make capital submit to the demands of labor, labor has again be compelled to acknowledges its inability to hold out against capital [emphasis added]. If we can believe what the officers of the railroad companies strenuously maintain—and in the face of things we are obliged to place some credence in what they say—the coal companies cannot possibly pay any larger wages than they paid last summer. When the miners learned that this was so, they did wisely in agreeing to go to work. / The news of resumption has made a great change in the countenances of the business men as well as in those of nearly every one else, and confidence has again been restored. Carbondale has now, we are inclined to think with the majority of our citizens, a passably brilliant business prospect before her, and a guarantee of a brisk fall and winter trade. There is a much better feeling all around than there was during the long and dismal season of idleness when so many hundreds of our people were adding nothing to the income of the community. We have reached hard-pan without a doubt, and from this time forth we may expect gradually to recover from the effects of the panic in general and of the recent expensive strike in particular. Other parts of the county are in a comparatively flourishing condition, and, now that all of our local industries have once again been set in motion, it is safe to predict that this section will soon enjoy a season of prosperity such as it has not known during the last two years, and that we shall all speedily recover from the depression which the late panic and the more recent strike compelled us to experience and to endure.” (*Carbondale Leader*, October 20, 1877, p 3)

An equally enthusiastic and jubilant article on the end of the strike of 1877 and the prospects for the future was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of October 20, 1877. This reasoned and optimistic article concludes with the following statements:

‘By industry we thrive,’ and when work can be obtained at wages even not the most remunerative, this work in time, if persisted in, will certainly bring about a condition of affairs that will be found very acceptable to the workingman. Labor and capital must walk hand in hand. Neither can get along without the other. Capital cannot develop the resources of the country without the assistance of labor; and labor cannot be paid without capital. Then, again, labor produces capital in the course of time. By receiving his wages from the capitalist who employs him, the laborer in very many cases becomes a capitalist, himself, and he in turn is enabled to employ other laborers. So it goes. Industry is wealth.”

Here is the complete article from the *Carbondale Advance*:

“Resumption at Last. / The tidal wave of resumption, of which we spoke last week as wending its way up the valley, has at last reached us, thank God, and now all classes of citizens can take fresh courage in the warfare of life. For about three months a death-pall has seemed to hover over the Lackawanna coal-fields, and the hearts of the stoutest men quailed at the prospect of speedy and utter ruin to our industries, and consequent want and misery of all classes pursuing trade of any kind for a livelihood. But, providentially, a better sense—common sense—has taken hold of the people, and the veil is lifted, letting in the sunlight—the dawn of prosperity now illumines the financial horizon, and everybody rejoices!—the miner who has long worked one-half time at low wages; the mechanic who has worked on three-quarters time; and the laborer, the fireman, the brakeman, the engineer, all who have been out of work for the past three months, rejoice at the good news of resumption and the prospect of steady work. The merchant and tradesman, who has long been despondent, owing to the lack of trade, also rejoice with a joy unspeakable over the long-hoped-for time, now at hand, when they can sell their wares with the prospect of getting money to meet their obligations, and when they can order new stocks of goods with the prospect of disposing of them. May the anticipations of all these classes be more than realized in the good time now dawning. / Just how brought about is hard to tell, but all interested, with one common consent, seemed to feel that the time had now come to work. Stagnation in business of any kind, whether necessitated by circumstances or not, soon eats out the substance not only of the workingman, but of others dependent upon his wages for their subsistence, and a few months suspension convinces every one of this fact. To continue this state of things is sure ruin. ‘By industry we thrive,’ and when work can be obtained at wages even not the most remunerative, this work in time, if persisted in, will certainly bring about a condition of affairs that will be found very acceptable to the workingman. Labor and capital must walk hand in hand. Neither can get along without the other. Capital cannot develop the resources of the country without the assistance of labor; and labor cannot be paid without capital. Then, again, labor produces capital in the course of time. By receiving his wages from the capitalist who employs him, the laborer in very many cases becomes a capitalist, himself, and he in turn is enabled to employ other laborers. So it goes. Industry is wealth.” (*Carbondale Advance*, October 20, 1877, p. 3).

What was learned from the strike of July 28, 1877—October 18, 1877?

The strike of 1877 taught mine workers that while they could, sometimes, gain concessions from small, independent operators, they would be unable to achieve the same successes with the large coal companies. The labor movement needed a strong union able to organize and unify all workers throughout the region in the name of cooperative action. Organization on this scale proved difficult in the decades following 1877, a time of nationwide anti-union sentiment. Coal workers were unable to present a unified front against the combined strength of the operators until the organization of the United Mine Workers (UMW) in 1890.

Following the resolution of the strike of July 28, 1877—October 18, 1877, the D. & H. C. Co., in a demonstration of good faith, paid promptly (two weeks ahead of schedule) its shopmen, miners, railroad men, and other employees for the work with they did in October 1877. The positive consequences of this humanitarian act were widespread in the community.

"The D. & H. C. Co. is to be commended for its promptness in paying its shopmen, miners, railroad men, and other employees for the work with they did in October. All the men had been idle for nearly three months, having done no work from July 28 to October 18, and the wages they earned in October, although not quite half a month had been worked, were paid to them on Saturday, November 3. The amount which they received was comparatively small, yet it came as a godsend to them. Many families were entirely out of funds when pay-day came, and many of them were greatly in need of the real necessities of life, and therefore the company did a charitable thing when it paid so soon after the first of the month, instead of waiting until the 14th or 15th, as is customary when work goes along regularly. The money was used judiciously and expended only for that which the workingmen and their families were really in need of. It made certain classes of business pretty brisk for a day or two, and enlivened many a home. There was very little drunkenness for a pay-day, and the men lost no time as they usually do on pay-days. The amount of money disbursed was of course not large, but it had a perceptible effect on the business of Carbondale, nevertheless." (*Carbondale Leader*, November 10, 1877, p. 3)

In early December 1877, the movement of coal cars on the Gravity Railroad was incessant, and the cuts of loaded coal cars were sent over the mountain frequently well into the evening:

"Judging from the activity which prevails on the gravity road, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company are evidently determined to get all the coal they can to market, before the close of navigation—the movement of the cars is almost incessant, and frequently extends far into the evening." (*Carbondale Leader*, December 1, 1877, p. 3)

November 26 and 27, 1877, were outstanding days for shipments of coal from Carbondale to Honesdale (4,289 loaded coal cars), and from there, via the D&H Canal (141 boats, each with an average of 135 tons of coal) to market.

"On Monday 2,073 loaded coal cars were transported over the Gravity Railroad from Carbondale, and on Tuesday 2,216 were received. This was sufficient to load several coal trains on the Honesdale Branch, besides 71 boats on Monday and 70 on Tuesday. Each boat will hold an average of 135 tons. It was the largest number ever loaded from cars, in the same length of time upon our docks. The boatmen are quite jubilant.—*Honesdale Citizen*." (*Carbondale Advance*, December 1, 1877, p. 3)

Given the turbulence that was manifest in 1877 in the Lackawanna Valley, it will be regarded as interesting and important that the complete text of the D&H annual report for 1877 be presented here.

Annual Report for 1877 for the D&H C. Co.

“D. & H. C. Co. / The president of this company has recently submitted his annual report, which we find in the *Scranton Republican*. We publish it in full, as it is a matter of great interest to our readers. It will be seen that Mr. Dickson speaks hopefully of the future in connection with his company, whose interests are so closely identified with this region: / In submitting their usual report of the business of the company for the year ending December 31, 1877, the managers can only regret that the results are not more favorable. / The coal trade, upon which the prosperity of the company mainly depends, was never so thoroughly depressed and demoralized as from the opening to the close of the year. / The price obtained for our coal at tide water fully accounts for the meagre results of the business, though these were aggravated by a strike, which closing our mines from the end of July to the end of October, not only told seriously upon the cost of production, but also largely reduced the transportation earnings, and so caused a large loss of net earnings to our railroads. / The business of the leased lines from other sources than coal was satisfactory, and if the usual quantity of coal had been transported, the net revenue would have shown a marked increase over former years. / A partial compensation for the losses of the year may be found in the economies which the depressed condition of the trade has enabled us to introduce, and which, promising as they do to become permanent, must tell favorably on our future business. It may also be stated that the property has been thoroughly cared for, and was never in better condition. / The finances of the company are in a sound state. Looking to the possibility of a continued depression in the business (now happily averted) arrangements were made providing all money needed until 1880. / While speculation as to the probable results of the business of 1878 may be of little value, the fact that the suicidal policy of forcing large quantities of coal upon overstocked markets has been arrested by an arrangement of the producers to limit the supply to the demand augurs well for the future [emphasis added]. / The experience of the last eighteen months has impressed both managers and mine owners with the fact that the laws of supply and demand will not allow the one to be pressed beyond the limits of the other, but require the two to be harmonized. / The arrangement above alluded to only limited the supply of coal to the demand, and provides for its being brought forward at such times and in such quantities as may be required for consumption—thus making the movement as regular and uniform as possible, and giving a healthy tone to the trade. / In this connection it is proper to say that your managers fully appreciate the depression existing in the general industries of the country and the importance of supplying coal at the lowest possible price consistent with a reasonable profit to the producer—and that any attempt to force prices beyond such limits would be alike disastrous to the producer and consumer. / In view of the above, with its important bearing upon a company so essentially dependent upon the prosperity of the coal trade, your managers feel that the stockholders can confidently expect that the profit and loss account will

hereafter show a balance upon the right side. / A company composed mostly of Boston capitalists, are engaged in constructing a railroad from Mechanicsville, on the Rensselaer & Saratoga Railroad, to the Hoosic Tunnel, with the view of obtaining a new through route between Boston, the west and southwest, via Schenectady and Binghamton. As the traffic thus obtained must pass over our roads from Mechanicsville on the Rensselaer & Saratoga to Binghamton on the Albany & Susquehanna, thus making the latter a part of a great trunk line, we may reasonably hope that the time is not far distant when this road will not only be a source of revenue to the company, but will also have largely increased facilities for the distribution of coal. / At the last annual meeting of stockholders, a committee was appointed to examine the property and assets of the company. / The examination made was thorough and exhaustive, and the report made by the committee was published and sent to the stockholders,--and it now seems proper to call the attention of the owners of the property to the fact that their committee after making full allowance for the shrinkage of values, and deducting all assets considered doubtful, reported an aggregate of value which showed a surplus of over four millions. / By order of the Board. / THOMAS DICKSON, President.” (*Carbondale Leader*, March 9, 1878, p. 3)

In its December 29 issue, the *Carbondale Advance* published an enthusiastic and upbeat letter from a "Traveler" who praised not only the passenger coaches and service on the D&H Gravity Railroad to Honesdale and on the D&H steam line from Carbondale to Scranton to Wilkes-Barre, but also the excellent schools in the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys. Here is that letter:

“The most remarkable of all Decembers known to *the oldest inhabitant* has rendered the route over the mountain from Honesdale to Carbondale a delightful trip. The D. & H. Canal Co. have left little to be desired in the comfort of the Gravity passenger cars. The regularity of the trains, and the reliability of the connections are also praiseworthy and exceedingly convenient to travelers. The cars also between Carbondale and Scranton are speedy and pleasant. The management on these roads is certainly fortunate in the choice of gentlemanly and popular conductors. / Passing down the valley we met many young people coming home from school and seminary to spend Christmas. Honesdale, Carbondale, Scranton, Pittston, West Pittston, and Wilkes-Barre all have excellent graded schools. We have had opportunities to visit most of them and much more could be said of the thoroughness of the instruction for the young, in what some are pleased to call ‘The benighted Coal Regions.’ / Wyoming Valley also boasts a first class Seminary for young ladies and gentlemen, accessible by railroad from near or distant points, and giving without sectarian restraint or bias, a generous, Christian, and high intellectual culture. The Wyoming Seminary is under the charge of Dr. David Copeland, an affable, erudite and skillful teacher, who is supported by an able faculty. Over 200 students throng the halls of the institution, notwithstanding the hard times. / While business begins to improve in our cities and towns, let the first attention be given to the mental and moral training of the young and rising generation. [signed] TRAVELER.” (*Carbondale Advance*, December 29, 1877, p. 3)

1877-1900: Stabilization of Labor/Management Relations; 1877-1880: D&H Financial Deficits

For several weeks in late-March/early-April 1878, no work was done at the Lackawanna Breaker in the upper part of the D&H Yard in Carbondale. In mid-April work was resumed there, and amid "great rejoicing" the 800 employees at the breaker went back to work.

"Resumption--Great Rejoicing. / Work is being resumed at the Lackawanna Breaker, in the upper part of town, which has been idle for several weeks. It causes joy among the workingmen and our businessmen generally. Although the price will be low, it will be much better than no wages. We had hoped that the lower shafts that have been idle for about two weeks, would resume at the same time, but we learn that this is not expected. The number employed at the upper breaker, now resuming, is stated at about 800." (*Carbondale Advance*, April 13, 1878, p. 3)

On April 25, 1878, the D&H mined its full quota of coal for April, and ceased operations until May 1. On May 1, work was resumed at the Lackawanna Breaker.

"The D. & H. C. Co. having mined in full their quota for April, on Thursday of last week, ceased work in their mines until May 1st. Work was resumed at Lackawanna Breaker on Wednesday of this week." (*Carbondale Advance*, May 4, 1878, p. 3)

The coal combination was re-established in January 1878, and the Delaware & Hudson Company are to mine about 1,700,000 tons of the 20,000,000. The credit of this movement is due to Thomas Dickson. In the January 10, 1878 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, we read:

"The coal combination is at last a fixed fact—the terms having been agreed upon last week. Under the arrangement, the Del. & Hud. Co. are to mine about 1,700,000 tons of the 20,000,000. The credit of this movement is due to Thomas Dickson, probably, more than to any other man. He has labored long and persistently for the accomplishment of the object; and has great faith in its entire feasibility. We shall see now whether his foresight and business judgment will be commended by the results. If it does accomplish what is claimed, it will be a great boon to the coal interests; and, as a consequence, a great help to the business interests of this region." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 10, 1878, p. 3)

A copy of the annual report for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company for 1878 was made available to the *Carbondale Leader*, which printed it entire in its issue of May 13, 1879. Here is that annual report:

“D. & H. C. CO. ANNUAL REPORT [for 1878]. / (We have been favored with a copy of the Annual Report of this company to the stockholders for the year 1878. As it is a matter of so much general interest to our people we give it entire.) The following report of the business of the Company for the year ending December 31st, 1878, is herewith submitted. /It shows a profit on the business of the Company proper of \$440,971.63, and a loss on the leased lines of \$498,562.87, leaving a net deficit of \$57,591.24, as exhibited in Table ‘A.’ / This result, less favorable than was reasonably anticipated, is chiefly due to the unsatisfactory manner in which the coal tonnage was managed by the recent association of the coal companies under their agreement of January, 1878. / The unprecedentedly low prices that ruled during the last six months of 1877, induced dealers in coal to accumulate stocks far beyond their immediate wants, and this fact, coupled with the exceptionally mild winter of 1877-8, enforced a large curtailment of mining for the first six months of 1878. / Meanwhile prices gradually advanced to a fairly remunerative rate, and the prospects were very flattering for a profitable fall and winter business. Dealers were satisfied with the action of the associated companies, and, confident that their terms of arrangement would be carried out, responded to the changed condition of affairs. / At this time some of the companies, mistaking, perhaps, the *real* cause of improvement, and feeling the restrictions imposed upon mining to be burdensome, called for and obtained an increase of the allotments agreed upon from time to time. / The natural effects followed this action; prices for coal were again demoralized, and producers and consumers alike lost all faith in the maintenance of the arrangement. Buying was again limited to immediate necessities, and a formal dissolution of the association followed on the 28th of December. / We believe that if the terms of the compact had been carried out firmly, and the production of coal kept within proper limits, the entire coal interest would now be on a sound and profitable basis, with prices satisfactory to both producers and consumers. / Waste and destruction is not competition, and when an article like coal, that cannot be reproduced, will not, owing to a forced surplus stock, pay the actual cost of mining, transportation and handling, with a fair compensation for the coal in the ground, and a reasonable return for the investments necessary to its production, the public, either directly or indirectly, must bear the loss. / The time is probably not far distant when the consumption of coal will overtake the natural limit of production. In the meantime it would seem to be only the exercise of prudent discretion on the part of those managing this large interest to avail of every just and lawful means to protect it from the exhaustion and loss inevitably attendant upon what has been called open competition. / The interest of producers cannot be separated so far as tonnage is concerned. All must share alike in the consequences of over production. / The law of supply and demand is the governing factor—it cannot be disregarded without derangement of prices, and an attempt to force the sale of any article beyond its consumptive requirement must result in loss [emphasis added]. It is therefore simply idle to contend that 28,000,000 tons of coal (a possible production) can be sold profitably where 22,000,000 is the outside limit of consumption. Judiciously managed, the smaller amount will have a greater value than the larger. / When this proposition is demonstrated anew by the course of events, some fair and honorable means will be found to place the coal trade upon a sound commercial basis, and coal properties

will once more occupy the position that their magnitude and intrinsic value justly entitle them to in public estimation. / The finances of the Company are in a satisfactory condition [emphasis added]. / The proceeds of the new mortgage loan have been applied as follows: five millions, by its terms, secures the loan of 1894; two millions four hundred and fifty thousand have been negotiated, and two millions five hundred and fifty thousand are still held by the Company. This loan was created to retire maturing bonds, as well as to pay off the floating debt, and it is proper to state that the liabilities of the Company have been increased to the extent of \$865,000 only since Dec. 31, 1876. / The debit to General Profit and Loss Account has been increased by losses and shrinkages. / The property of the Company is in the best possible condition, and every department is in excellent working order [emphasis added]. / The net earnings of our railroads and leased lines are steadily improving, and our earnings other than coal are annually increasing. / The Boston Hoosic Tunnel and Western Railroad Company confidently expect to complete their work during the present season, which will give us a direct communication with New England via the Hoosic Tunnel, and as the laying of a third rail by the New York, Lake Erie and Western on its entire line gives us a connection at Binghamton with Western and Southern system of railroads, we may reasonably anticipate a large increase of business for our Albany and Susquehanna and its connections. / THOMAS DICKSON, Pres't." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 13, 1879, p. 3.)

The following commentary on the D&H Annual Report for 1878 was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of May 17, 1879:

“DELAWARE AND HUDSON. / THE ANNUAL REPORT—A DEFICIT LAST YEAR—CONDITION OF THE COAL MARKET. / New York, May 13.—The annual report of the managers of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company is just issued. It shows a profit on the business of the company for year 1878, of \$440,971.63, and a loss on the leased lines of \$498,562.87, leaving a net deficit of \$59,591.24. This result, less favorable than was reasonably anticipated, is chiefly due to the unsatisfactory manner in which the coal-tonnage was managed by the recent association of the coal companies under their arrangement of January, 1878. The unprecedentedly low prices that ruled during the last six months of 1877, induced dealers to accumulate stocks far beyond their immediate wants, and this fact coupled with the exceptionally mild winter of 1877-78, enforced a large curtailment of mining for the first six months of 1878. Meanwhile prices gradually advanced to a fairly remunerative rate, and the prospects were flattering for a profitable fall and winter business. Dealers were satisfied with the action of the associated companies, and, confident that their terms of arrangement would be carried out, responded to the changed condition of affairs. At this time says President Dickson, some of the companies, mistaking the real cause of improvement, and feeling the restrictions placed upon mining to be burdensome, called for and obtained an increase of the allotments agreed upon from time to time. The natural effects followed this action; prices for coal were again demoralized,

and producers and consumers alike lost faith in the maintenance of the arrangement. Buying was again limited to immediate necessities, and a formal dissolution of the association followed on the 28th of December. The managers believe that if the terms of the compact had been carried out firmly, and the production of coal kept within proper limits, the entire coal interest would now be on a sound and profitable basis, with prices satisfactory to producers and consumers. The time is probably not too far distant, they add, when the consumption of coal will overtake the natural limit of production. In the meantime it would seem to be only the exercise of prudent discretion on the part of those managing this large interest to avail of every just and lawful means to protect it from exhaustion and loss inevitably attendant upon what has been called open competition. The finances of the Company are in a satisfactory condition. The proceeds of the new mortgage loan have been applied as follows: Five millions by its terms, secures the loan of 1894; two millions four hundred and fifty thousand have been negotiated, and two millions five hundred and fifty thousand are still held by the company. This loan was created to retire maturing bonds, as well as to pay the floating debt, and it is proper to state the liabilities of the company have been increased to the extent of \$865,000 only since December 31, 1876." (*Carbondale Advance*, May 17, 1879, p. 2)

In February 1878, D&H management proposed the establishment of a disability fund for disabled workmen. To become a reality, the fund required the support of the D&H employees (possibly through regular payroll deductions).

"Are the employees of the Del. & Hud. C. Co. going to allow the proposed project of a fund for disabled workmen to fall through? It ought to be carried into effect for their own benefit, and that of the community at large." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 9, 1878, p. 3)

In June 1878, half time was the order of the day for the D&H miners in Carbondale; for those who worked in the Erie and Jermyn collieries, three-quarters time was the order of the day:

"All the miners now employed by the D. & H. C. Co. are working on half time in this city. Erie and Jermyn collieries are working on three-quarters time." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 8, 1878, p. 3)

A highly positive article about the D&H Canal that was originally published in the *New York Sun* was reprinted in the *Carbondale Leader* of July 27, 1878. That article contains many interesting facts and observations on the D&H Canal:

- The D&H Canal gives life and business activity to a considerable extent of territory, being very useful to the large extent of territory through which it passes. In addition to the millions of tons of anthracite coal that pass through the canal annually, many other products are shipped via the canal: cement, blue flagging stone, cord wood, railroad ties, tan bark, lumber barrel heading.
- In prosperous times the D&H Canal employs nearly 2,000 boatmen. They are chiefly foreigners, and men who, with rare exceptions, follow the canal for life.
- The canal boats carry from 120 to 130 tons each, and those who run them are paid a specified sum per ton as freight for all the coal boated by them. Each Captain virtually buys the boat he runs, for it is understood that he is to pay for it by installments of \$20 a trip. These installments are deducted from his freight money, and, besides, \$7 each trip is retained by the company and paid him at the end of the season. This is called 'back money,' and often proves a godsend to the poor boatmen, many of whom are natural spendthrifts, and could not lay up a dollar for a rainy day if they tried. A boat is valued at something like \$1,200, and it takes a great many seasons to pay for it, considering that only about thirteen trips can be made in the most busy boating season.
- Years ago boating on the Delaware and Hudson canal was one of the most profitable pursuits that a poor man could engage in. The freight was high, ranging as it did from \$1 to \$1.20 per ton, and the canal company had all it could do to fill its contracts. Those were palmy days for the boatmen, many of the most thrifty and intelligent of whom saved enough to purchase comfortable homes, and even to lay by something for time of need. Of late years the freight has been eighty cents or thereabout.
- Delays at each end of the canal frequently make the round trip, that under favorable circumstances is two weeks, as many months, so that the canaller's income is barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, and used for the support of his family is often a mere pittance. So poor was the boating season last year in consequence of the causes mentioned that hundreds left the canal in a condition bordering on absolute want.
- This season (1878) the boatmen have suffered an additional annoyance in the shape of robberies.
- Taking into consideration all the disadvantages with which the boatmen have had to contend the present season (1878), their prospects are even worse than they were last; for many a canaller has only made two trips, whereas in more favorable seasons five and six have been made in the same length of time.

Here is the complete article from the *New York Sun/Carbondale Leader*:

“The Delaware and Hudson Canal. / Whether the Delaware and Hudson Canal is or is not a paying institution to the capitalists who own and operate it, it gives life and business activity to a considerable extent of territory. The business interests of a large area of country would dwindle to insignificance should this canal be permanently closed, for it is not only of service in the transportation of millions of tons of coal yearly from the coal fields of Pennsylvania to tide water, but it is very useful in other respects to the large extent of territory through which it passes. The yearly shipments of cement and blue flagging stone alone by way of it to market amount to a large sum; and from its shipments of cord wood, railroad ties, tan bark, lumber, barrel heading, and other products, is derived a large income by the surrounding country. / The canal was put in operation in 1828, and for many years was one of the most flourishing and money-making institutions in Eastern New York. In prosperous times it employs nearly 2,000 boatmen. They are chiefly foreigners [emphasis added], and men who, with rare exceptions, follow the canal for life. / The canal boats carry from 120 to 130 tons each, and those who run them are paid a specified sum per ton as freight for all the coal boated by them. Each Captain virtually buys the boat he runs, for it is understood that he is to pay for it by installments of \$20 a trip. These installments are deducted from his freight money, and, besides, \$7 each trip is retained by the company and paid him at the end of the season. This is called ‘back money,’ and often proves a godsend to the poor boatmen, many of whom are natural spendthrifts, and could not lay up a dollar for a rainy day if they tried. A boat is valued at something like \$1,200, and it takes a great many seasons to pay for it, considering that only about thirteen trips can be made in the most busy boating season. / Years ago boating on the Delaware and Hudson canal was one of the most profitable pursuits that a poor man could engage in. The freight was high, ranging as it did from \$1 to \$1.20 per ton, and the canal company had all it could do to fill its contracts. Those were palmy days for the boatmen, many of the most thrifty and intelligent of whom saved enough to purchase comfortable homes, and even to lay by something for time of need. Of late years the freight has been eighty cents or thereabout. Added to this disadvantage in freight are delays to which the canaller is now subjected while making a trip. His progress is regulated by the company, that sends the coal to market only as fast as wanted. His running hours vary, sometimes embracing both day and night. Generally, however, he is permitted to run only during the day, and there are times when he is detained a great portion of that. Beside these detentions are those caused by strikes in the coal mines, that are often of months’ duration. Then again, on reaching Honesdale, if others are ahead of him the boatman has to wait until his turn comes before he can get a load. The same is the case at Rondout, where he delivers his cargo. This delay at each end of the canal frequently makes the round trip, that under favorable circumstances is two weeks, as many months, so that his income is barely sufficient to keep body and soul together, and used for the support of his family is often a mere pittance. So poor was the boating season last year in consequence of the causes mentioned that hundreds left the canal in a condition bordering on absolute want. / This season the boatmen have suffered an additional annoyance in the shape of robberies [emphasis added]. One or two masked men board a boat after the Captain and hands have gone to bed, and chloroform and rob them of everything of the least value. Sometimes these robberies, which have been of frequent occurrence, take place at

about dusk. Before the Captain is aware of it the boat is boarded, and at the point of a revolver his money, sometimes his last cent, is forced from him. So skillful are the perpetrators of these outrages that they almost invariably escape detection and punishment. Taking into consideration all the disadvantages with which the boatmen have had to contend the present season, their prospects are even worse than they were last; for many a canaller has only made two trips, whereas in more favorable seasons five and six have been made in the same length of time.—*N. Y. Sun.*” (*Carbondale Leader*, July 27, 1878, p. 2)

In 1878, 207,954 tons of coal were mined by the D. & H. C. Co., which was an increase of 207,954 tons over 1877. Those numbers were published in the January 11, 1879 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*:

In 1877, the D. & H. C. Co. mined 1,929,247 tons of coal; in 1878, 2,137,201 tons, showing an increase of 207,954 tons in favor of last year [i.e., 1878].” (*Carbondale Advance*, January 11, 1879, p. 3)

May 14, 1879: President Dickson authorized to buy about 800 acres of coal lands near Carbondale for \$35,000.

The combination idea (the producers limit the quantity of coal mined), which originated with and was so ably advocated by Thomas Dickson, is the true remedy for a weak and unsettled market. That point is underlined in the article titled "A Coal War" that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 16, 1879:

“A COAL WAR. / The indications in the coal market for the last few days point unmistakably toward a war of competition among the great producing companies, which is likely to affect the trade sensibly, and perhaps lead to ruinous results. To test the state of the market, and to form a basis for future prices, the Delaware & Hudson Company have resolved to put upon the market at a forced sale, the enormous quantity of half a million tons. This bold action on the part of President Dickson has ruffled the temper of some of the other large producers,—notably the Reading Company,—and there are threats of retaliation on their part by cutting under the market rates. We see no reason why such a course should be pursued, as the action of the Delaware & Hudson Company is perfectly legitimate; and is not a new departure in the trade, except as to the quantity to be forced upon the market. So long as the combination idea, originating with and so ably advocated by Mr. Dickson [emphasis added], has been abandoned, of course the field is open to unlimited production, and to any legitimate method of making sales. Coal, like any other product, is only worth what it will bring; and unlike many other products, it cannot, once mined, profitably wait for a rising market. If the present plan of forcing the market should prove

disastrous to the trade, the blame must fall upon those who have overthrown the combination; and it may teach them wisdom which may hereafter be turned to good account. / --Since the above was written it has transpired that the announcement of the auction sale of a half a million tons was incorrect [emphasis added]. This modifies our article to some extent, but its reasoning remains good. The fact that the combination of producers to limit the quantity of coal mined, is the true remedy for a weak and unsettled market is more and more apparent to every candid observer.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 16, 1879, p. 2)

Fifty thousand tons of Lackawanna Coal were sold by Delaware and Hudson Canal Company at the Coal and Iron Exchange building, corner of Cortlandt and New Church street, on August 13, 1879. The sale was fairly attended, but the bidding was exasperatingly slow and inactive, and the prices obtained were very much below those offered at the former sale held by the company in April last. Here is the report on that sale that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 16, 1879:

“FALL IN COAL / FIFTY THOUSAND TONS OF LACKAWANNA COAL SOLD BY THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON CANAL COMPANY. / NEW YORK, Aug. 13.—A public auction sale of 50,000 tons of Lackawanna coal, offered by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, took place at noon to-day at the Coal an Iron Exchange building, corner of Cortlandt and New Church street. The sale was fairly attended, but the bidding was exasperatingly slow and inactive, and the prices obtained were very much below those offered at the former sale held by the company in April last. / Fifty thousand tons were offered, delivered at Weehawken or Rondout, at the option of the purchaser, during the current month. The amount of tons offered were classified as follows: 12,500 tons of grate, 12,500 tons of egg, and 25,000 tons of stove. / The grate size was first offered and started at \$1.75, but after considerable urging on the part of Mr. Draper, some one condescended to raise the price to \$1.80, and by small bids it finally reached \$2. The 12,500 tons were disposed of in lots of 100 to 5,000 tons each. / The next size offered--egg—started at \$2, and by small bids crawled up to \$2.12 ½, at which price the 12,500 tons were sold. / The stove size was opened with a bid of \$2.25 and finally advanced to \$2.32 ½, when the 25,000 tons were disposed of.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 16, 1879, p. 3)

In the *Carbondale Leader* of August 16, 1879, it was announced that, to fairly test the feeling and strength of the coal market and to establish a fair basis for prices, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company would sell 500,000 tons of coal at auction in New York on Wednesday, August 20.

“THE COAL TRADE. / UNSATISFACTORY CONDITION OF THE MARKET—THE WEEK’S AUCTION SALE—THE MUDDLE AS TO PRICES. / The Philadelphia *Evening Telegraph* of Saturday says: / The anthracite market has not improved, but is rather in a more demoralized condition than heretofore. The action of some of the leading managers has not been harmonious, and the buying public are not strongly impressed by the representations that all things are working together for the peaceful supremacy of the coal producers. They see the possibility of a coal war in the near future, and know that a fight means lower prices than have yet prevailed. They are in a position to wait without much inconvenience, and are persistently improving their opportunities in that direction, in the faith that if a fight comes they will be the better for it, and if it does not come they will not be much the worse for their delay in purchasing. / Production goes on without abatement and without much prospect of systematic curtailment. The supply of coal continues undiminished, but it is all or nearly all going to fill old orders taken before there had been any ostensible advance of prices. / The matter of prices is in a very curious position. One company has put its rate up, on paper, another company has put its rates down, on paper; the recent auction sale in New York showed an advance, on paper. In point of fact, however, prices probably remain just as they were before; that is to day, coal sells for what can be obtained for it. The printed figures have not had very much to do with fixing the price obtained for the commodity; but the variety of printed figures has had a good deal to do with finding the idea in the consumer’s mind that now was a very good time to wait for a fight with the resulting advantages. In the meantime the announcement comes that the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company will sell 500,000 tons of coal at auction in New York on Wednesday next [emphasis added]. This announcement awakens considerable discussion. The ostensible purpose of the movement is to fairly test the feeling and strength of the market and to establish a fair basis for prices. / Those who oppose the institution of such a test, however, claim that it is a ‘bluff’ that a show is made of an effort to put prices down as low as possible, while the probability is that, at the last moment, when prices bid fair to go too low, there will be some active bolstering restored to. Whatever may be the result of the sale, it is probable that the prices of coal will go lower than at present, and that there will not be an important advance in genuine prices during the remainder of the year, notwithstanding the prospect for a large consumption of coal by the iron and manufacturing interests.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 16, 1879, p. 3)

The New York office of the D&H, the Coal and Iron Exchange Building, 21 Courtland Street, was built in 1876, and sold in 1906. The D&H then rented space at 32 Nassau Street.

In the June 28, 1879 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*, it was announced that the D. & H. shops have all resumed the ten-hour system"

"The D. & H. shops have all resumed the ten-hour system." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 28, 1879, p. 3)

Coal prices went up slightly in mid-July 1879. The latest quotation for Delaware and Hudson was 48 1/4:

"Coal stocks have appreciated slightly during the past week. The latest quotation of Delaware and Hudson is 48 1/4." (*Carbondale Advance*, July 19, 1879, p. 3)

In the December 13, 1879 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, it was announced that the D&H, adopting the plan of the D. L. & W, would work on three-quarter time with a probability of making it half time.

"THE COAL SITUATION. / The limited suspension announced last week seems likely to fall through, owing to the refusal of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Company to unite in it. That company has proposed another plan of restriction which is to work for the balance of the month on three-quarter time. Whether the other companies will do likewise is not yet determined. / **LATER.**—In the Wyoming and Schuylkill regions a fortnight's suspension has been decreed, and the Del. & Hud. has decided to adopt the plan of the D. L. & W. to work on three-quarter time with a probability of making it half time. Undoubtedly some plan for restricting the output will be generally adopted." (*Carbondale Leader*, December 13, 1879, p 2)

The annual report of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company for 1879 was submitted by the Board of Managers to the stockholders at the annual meeting in New York March 18, 1880.

Among the many interesting facts and noteworthy statements in this report are the following:

- 3,054,390 tons of coal were mined and sold for account by the D&H in 1879
- The D&H spent \$150,000 in early 1879 to repair damages to the D&H Canal that were caused by a storm late in 1878
- "The year 1879 will be remembered as marking the lowest prices ever known in the history of the coal trade. These were caused by over-production, a necessary result of the fatuous desire of managers to obtain large tonnage and consequent prominence in the trade." Thomas Dickson
- "The course of the business has once more demonstrated that the law of supply and demand cannot be disregarded without derangement of values, and that it is idle to maintain that over-supply and remunerative prices can co-exist." Thomas Dickson

- "While the coal business, from the causes stated above, has been unremunerative and unsatisfactory, our railroad interests have been steadily improving, and the result they show for the year is a full endorsement of the reasonable anticipations we have indulged in regard to them. / The Boston Hoosac Tunnel and Western Railroad has been completed, and the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad has now become a part of a great trunk line between the West, Southwest and New England, and a large increase of earnings is assured upon that portion of our property." Thomas Dickson
- ". . . we have good ground for the belief that the time has arrived when our leased lines will not only be self-supporting, but that they will yield a handsome profit to the company in the early future." Thomas Dickson
- "The finances of the Company are upon a satisfactory basis, and its property is in the best possible condition." Thomas Dickson

Here is the annual report for the D. & H. C. CO. for 1879:

“THE D. & H. C. CO. / STATEMENT OF ITS BUSINESS FOR THE YEAR SEVENTY-NINE—THE COAL INTEREST—CAUSE OF UNREMUNERATIVE PRICES—SATISFACTORY CONDITION OF THE FINANCES OF THE COMPANY. / The following statement of the business of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company for the year ending December 31st, 1879, was submitted by the Board of Managers to the stockholders at the annual meeting in New York March 18th. /

There was mined and sold for account of the Company.....	3,054,390 tons of coal.
Transported for other parties.....	357,673 tons of coal.
Total.....	3,412,063 tons of coal.

Which was distributed as follows:

From Honesdale <i>via</i> canal and roads.....	933,874
South from mines.....	56,278
Erie and West.....	583,665
North via A. & S. R. R.....	357,673
Local sales.....	<u>122,900</u>
	3,054,390
Add transported for other parties	357,673
Total	3,412,063

[Thomas Dickson report for 1879 continues] The close of the year 1878 was marked by one of the severest storms ever experienced in our region, which was accompanied by an unprecedented freshet that caused great destruction and seriously injured the canal and its appurtenances. Repairs were made during the early months of 1879, and their entire cost, about \$150,000, was charged to the current expenses of the year. / The year 1879 will be remembered as marking the lowest prices ever known in the history of the coal trade. These were caused by over-production, a necessary result of the fatuous desire of managers to obtain large tonnage and consequent prominence in the trade. / In this struggle for precedence the product was sacrificed, and a great interest, which, under ordinary circumstances, would have reaped its fair share of the benefits due a general revival of industry, was operated, not merely without profit, but at a positive loss to the owners. / The position taken by this Company in the reports of 1877 and 1878 has been fully sustained. The course of the business has once more demonstrated that the law of supply and demand cannot be disregarded without derangement of values, and that it is idle to maintain that over-supply and remunerative prices can co-exist. / The forcing process that was the governing principle of the year's business produced an enormous tonnage, largely in excess of any previous season. 'Rose-colored' statements as to the current demand and glowing predictions as to the future, together with the issue of paper prices that were never realized, combined to stimulate the trade unnaturally. Consumers, too, were induced, by published intentions of further increase in prices, to lay in stocks of coal in advance of their requirements; so that business which under ordinary circumstances, should have been spread over the months of October, November, December, and January, was nearly all done in the first two months. The natural result of this was that a surplus of not less than three millions of tons of coal was left to be carried forward as a burden upon the new year. The sluggish demand for coal, and the general weakening in prices which marked the month of January and the early part of February, confirmed this view, and the trade was again threatened with a repetition of the ruinous competition that characterized the early months of 1879. At this juncture, wiser counsels prevailed, and with singular unanimity producers determined that coal should no longer be given away, but that it should be made to yield a price fair alike to producer and consumer. To attain this result a simple compliance with the law of supply and demand was agreed upon; and as this plan is not accompanied by any entangling conditions, it is just to assume that it will be fairly carried out. / While the coal business, from the causes stated above, has been unremunerative and unsatisfactory, our railroad interests have been steadily improving, and the result they show for the year is a full endorsement of the reasonable anticipations we have indulged in regard to them. / The Boston Hoosac Tunnel and Western Railroad has been completed, and the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad has now become a part of a great trunk line between the West, Southwest and New England, and a large increase of earnings is assured upon that portion of our property. / The rapid development of the iron and ore business upon the borders of Lake Champlain is adding largely to the receipts of the New York and Canada and Rensselaer and Saratoga railroads; and we have good ground for the belief that the time has arrived when our leased lines will not only be self-supporting, but that they will yield a handsome profit to the company in the early future. / The

finances of the Company are upon a satisfactory basis, and its property is in the best possible condition. / It is a profitless task to indulge in predictions, but the managers feel that it is due to the stockholders to say that the prospects for the year upon which we have entered are more promising than for any period since the suspension of dividends, and they indulge the hope that the time has arrived when a gradual return to our old prosperity may be reasonably anticipated. THOMAS DICKSON, President. [detailed "Profit and Loss Account of Delaware and Hudson Canal Co., for year ending December 31, 1879" appended to report from Thomas Dickson but not given here]"

In its commentary on *D&H Annual Report for 1879*, the editors of the *Carbondale Leader*, remarkably, praise Thomas Dickson for his great capacity, watchfulness, and leadership skills:

"The direction and control of such enormous interests requires great capacity, and unceasing watchfulness. The President of the Company is the one upon whom this mainly devolves and the results show that he comes fully up to the requirements. Added to his ordinary administrative duties, is the most trying and perplexing one of keeping his company well up in the front in the great battle which is waging between the conflicting coal interests. In this matter he has displayed extraordinary talents and a far reaching insight into all the ramifications of the trade,-- and its condition for the last few months, has proved his sagacity and well balanced ideas of protective combination. We believe that very soon his plans will be adopted by all the producers, and give to the trade the position it should occupy among the business enterprises of the country."

Here is the complete commentary by the *Carbondale Leader* on the D&H annual report for 1879:

"The D. & H. C. CO. / The annual business of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company [given immediately above], presents some interesting features. The capital of the Company, so far as it is invested in Pennsylvania, earns a very fair dividend, even under the depressed conditions of the coal trade. The sales of coal for the year 1878, amounted to \$5,229,266.06. Amount paid for Mining was \$2,264,227.77; for Transportation, \$618,251.68. In Taxes, they have paid \$181,322.45; in Salaries, Rent and Miscellaneous and Law Expenses \$146,526.80. Other outgoes including interest paid, &c., bring up the total on the debit side to \$6,320,324.33. The net earnings of the 'Pennsylvania Railroad,' by which is meant we suppose the line from Scranton to Nineveh, are \$398,218.72, which is probably as large a return for the capital invested as the railroad business anywhere affords. The entire receipts of the year amount to \$6,761,295.96; giving a net gain of \$440,971.63. A very handsome showing, indeed, and one which would fill the hearts of the stockholders with joy were it not for the loss of the New York and Canada lines, which swallow up this sum, and place a balance on the wrong side, of \$57,591.24. Our readers

are already convinced, we doubt not, that this Company is a concern of mammoth proportions. If we had the data to show how many men and boys are employed, and how many persons are more or less dependent on it for their living, we have no doubt the figures would reach into the tens of thousands. The direction and control of such enormous interests requires great capacity, and unceasing watchfulness. The President of the Company is the one upon whom this mainly devolves and the results show that he comes fully up to the requirements. Added to his ordinary administrative duties, is the most trying and perplexing one of keeping his company well up in the front in the great battle which is waging between the conflicting coal interests. In this matter he has displayed extraordinary talents and a far reaching insight into all the ramifications of the trade,--and its condition for the last few months, has proved his sagacity and well balanced ideas of protective combination. We believe that very soon his plans will be adopted by all the producers, and give to the trade the position it should occupy among the business enterprises of the country." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 13, 1879, p.2; with this number of the *Carbondale Leader*, the paper began its 8th year of existence)

Half-time in the D&H mines and on the railroad was announced in the June 19, 1880 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*:

"Half time makes many long faces. We hope they will shorten up soon after July 1st." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 19, 1880, p. 3)

At the end of July 1880, it was announced that half-time would continue for yet another month, with full time expected to be the rule on September 1:

"Half Time for August. / Our deserving, and long suffering workingmen have had a faint hope that full time would be announced for August. But such is not the case. For yet another month, it is now said, that half time will prevail. It is believed that better times will be enjoyed after that, and we earnestly hope that it may be true. When times are good everywhere else, it makes those residing in the coal regions dissatisfied and restless to have the depression and hard times continue unabated here. If, as it is now expected, the looked for boon, full time, commences Sept. 1st, there will be a rapid improvement here after that and business will soon become lively." (*Carbondale Advance*, July 31, 1880, p 3)

October 27, 1880: Thomas Dickson submitted a communication to the Board of Directors in which he expressed the desirability of abandoning the canal and substituting a railroad in its place.

1880 D&H Annual Report

The following commentary by the editors of the *Carbondale Leader* on the *1880 D&H Annual Report* was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of December 25, 1880. Noteworthy statements in this commentary include:

- It has already transpired that the business of the leased lines of railroad, including the Albany & Susquehanna, the Rensselaer & Saratoga, and the New York & Canada, shows a large gain over 1879, amounting to about \$400,000. This result is according to the prediction of President Dickson in his last annual report.
- "It is confidently expected that the 'Profit and Loss account' for 1880 will show the balance on the right side of the ledger. / This result is, of course, due to some extent to the return of general prosperity throughout the country; but not a little of the credit should be attributed to a wise and careful management of the vast works of the Company. President Dickson has shown the highest executive capacity, under the most trying circumstances, and it is not too much to expect that very soon the old Company will resume her leading place among the giant coal operators in the Anthracite region,—not only in the extent of its business but in the value of its stock."

Here, then, is the commentary on the *1880 D&H Annual Report* by the editors of the *Carbondale Leader*:

"THE DEL. & HUD. CANAL CO. / The forthcoming annual statement of the Company's business for the year 1880 will be looked for with great interest. A much better showing is anticipated than that of last year. It has already transpired that the business of the leased lines of railroad, including the Albany & Susquehanna, the Rensselaer & Saratoga, and the New York & Canada, shows a large gain over 1879, amounting to about \$400,000. This result is according to the prediction of President Dickson in his last annual report. And this, too, in the face of the figures of 1879, which showed a loss of over \$300,000. Referring to this subject he wrote as follows: / 'The Boston, Hoosac Tunnel and Western railroad has been completed, and the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad has now become a part of a great trunk line between the West, Southwest and New England, and a large increase of earnings is assured upon that portion of our property. / The rapid development of the iron and ore business upon the borders of Lake Champlain is adding largely to the receipts of the New York and Canada and Rensselaer and Saratoga railroad; and we have good ground for the belief that the time has arrived when our leased lines will not only be self-supporting, but that they will yield a handsome profit to the Company in the early future.' / While the decrease in the year's tonnage will show a falling off in the volume of sales of coal, yet we believe the prices obtained over 1879—which were ruinously low—will more than make up the difference. It is confidently expected that the 'Profit and Loss account' for 1880 will show the balance on the right side of the ledger. / This result is, of course,

due to some extent to the return of general prosperity throughout the country; but not a little of the credit should be attributed to a wise and careful management of the vast works of the Company. President Dickson has shown the highest executive capacity, under the most trying circumstances, and it is not too much to expect that very soon the old Company will resume her leading place among the giant coal operators in the Anthracite region,--not only in the extent of its business but in the value of its stock." (*Carbondale Leader*, December 25, 1880, p. 2)

1882 D&H Annual Report

Among the many interesting facts and noteworthy statements in the *1882 D&H Annual Report* (from Thomas Dickson) are the following:

- Coal produced at the mines of the Company, 3,203,168.04 / Transported for others, 516,154.05 / Total tons, 3,719,322.09
- The gross receipts were \$15,573,927.08 / Expenses, \$10,422,324.13 / Less taxes, interest and rentals, \$3,313,401.70 / Leaving net earnings, \$1,838,201.25 / Or about 9 2/10 per cent. on the Capital Stock.
- Under the policy of restriction, the mines were closed forty-eight days during the year, and a nearly uniform price for coal was maintained.
- There was a large increase in the gross earnings of the railroads.
- Thirty-nine hundred and sixteen tons of steel rails, and four hundred and thirty-one thousand five hundred ties have been placed in the track, which are now in first class condition.
- "The great advantage of the possession of the leased lines, is evinced by the fact that the total tonnage and sales upon them and their branches in 1872 was only 116,283 tons, while in 1882 they were 750,855 tons, the profits upon which are added to the revenues of the Company, and there is every reason to believe that the future will show a further increase." Thomas Dickson
- To meet increased business on the Albany & Susquehanna road, that portion of it between Quaker Street and Nineveh (93 miles), is being double tracked. Eighteen miles, making a total of fifty miles, were completed during the year.
- There has also been added to equipment in 1882, twelve locomotives, nine passenger cars, and one thousand coal and box cars.

- The finances of the Company continue to be in a satisfactory condition.

Here, then is the complete *Annual Report of the D. & H. C. Co.* for 1882:

“Mr. DICKSON’S REPORT. / The following shows the result of the business of the Company for the year ended December 31st, 1882: / Coal produced at the mines of the Company, 3,203,168.04 / Transported for others, 516,154.05 / Total tons, 3,719,322.09 / The gross receipts were \$15,573,927.08 / Expenses, \$10,422,324.13 / Less taxes, interest and rentals, \$3,313,401.70 / Leaving net earnings, \$1,838,201.25 / Or about 9 2/10 per cent. on the Capital Stock. / Under the policy of restriction, the mines were closed forty-eight days during the year, and a nearly uniform price for coal was maintained. / There was a large increase in the gross earnings of the railroads. Owing however to unusual expenditures on the permanent way, the expenses were likewise larger. Thirty-nine hundred and sixteen tons of steel rails, and four hundred and thirty-one thousand five hundred ties have been placed in the track, which are now in first class condition. / Notwithstanding this large expenditure, the lines have been self-sustaining. The great advantage of the possession of the leased lines, is evinced by the fact that the total tonnage and sales upon them and their branches in 1872 was only 116,283 tons, while in 1882 they were 750,855 tons, the profits upon which are added to the revenues of the Company, and there is every reason to believe that the future will show a further increase. / To meet increased business on the Albany & Susquehanna road, that portion of it between Quaker Street and Nineveh (93 miles), is being double tracked. Eighteen miles, making a total of fifty miles, were completed during the year. There has also been added to equipment in 1882, twelve locomotives, nine passenger cars, and one thousand coal and box cars. / The finances of the Company continue to be in a satisfactory condition. / It must be noted, however, that the bonds of 1884 fall due in July of that year. In accordance with the resolution of stockholders at their last meeting in reference to the retirement of the bonds, the following plan for their redemption is suggested by your managers, and will be submitted to the stockholders at the annual meeting in May. / This plan proposes an increase of the Capital Stock to thirty millions, such increase to be offered to the stockholders *pro rata* at par, and with the condition that, if authorized, it shall be used only to retire bonds as they mature; that is to say, three millions, five hundred thousand to be issued in 1884, one million to be issued in 1887, and five millions, five hundred thousand in 1891. / Under this plan, the bonded debt of the Company will be reduced to ten millions, and as the rate of interest now paid upon the bonds to be retired is seven per cent., it follows that such change will be appropriated to dividends upon the stock so greatly adding to its investment value, and at the same time strengthening the financial position of the Company. / THOMAS DICKSON, / *President.*” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 23, 1883, p. 3)

Published in 1898 in the *Carbondale Leader* is a very interesting article in which the troubled times of the 1870s are viewed from the perspective of 1898. That 1898 article in the *Carbondale Leader* is titled: **“RECORDS OF THE D. & H. / The United States Inventor [sic, “Investor” was intended] Again Touches Upon the Finances of the Company.”** In their analysis of the finances of the D&H in the 1870s, the United States Inventor noted:

“Now let us glance at the matter of dividends. It is interesting to note that for fifty-six years the company paid cash dividends continuously, excepting in the four years, 1877 to 1880, inclusive [emphasis added]. In that time it has distributed \$61,800,000 cash, and \$5,000,000 of stock among its stockholders. / This is a remarkable record, and it is worthy of note that for a period of ten years preceding 1897 the stock did not sell below par. But the fatal year for Delaware & Hudson and for Lackawanna as well, was 1877 with its startling deficit of \$1,147,322, and in 1878 and 1879 deficits are also shown [emphasis added].”

Here is the complete article from the *Carbondale Leader* of February 4, 1898:

“RECORDS OF THE D. & H. / The United States Inventor [sic, “Investor” was intended] Again Touches Upon the Finances of the Company. / The last issue of the *United States Inventor* which has just come to hand contains another long article on Delaware & Hudson matters. Among other things it says: / ‘In 1896 the collieries of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co. were compelled to operate from 204 to 224 days, an average of 212 days for the year as compared with 116 days worked by the Pennsylvania Coal Co., 143 days by the Hillside Coal & Iron Co., 143 days by some of the individual operators, 106 days by the Lehigh & Wilkes-Barre Coal co., 141 days by the Susquehanna Coal Co., 165 days by the Lehigh Valley Coal Co., 120 days by the collieries on the line of the Susquehanna & Western, about 160 days by the collieries on the lines of the Ontario & Western, and 170 days by the collieries of the Philadelphia & Reading Coal & Iron Co. Does this not show that the Delaware & Hudson coal property is being exhausted, since it is necessary to operate nearly 30 per cent more time than the other collieries in order to keep up its proportion of the coal sent to market? / President Olyphant is in the habit of saying to the other anthracite presidents that the Delaware and Hudson is fully competent to take care of itself without regarding any of the other interests, and, furthermore, that the reason his company demands such a large proportion of the quantity of coal to be mined and to produce which its breakers have to work nearly full time, while other interests are working but a few days, is that the Delaware and Hudson has not increased its number of breakers for many years, while the other interests have to divide their output among a larger number of small operations, while he has a smaller number, and, consequently, is enabled to work full time.’ / In that year [1896] the capital stock of Delaware & Hudson issued was \$20,000,000. Today it is \$35,000,000, and as rapidly as its bonds mature they are replaced by an equal amount of stock. In the year of 1884 the company retired \$3,385,000 of 7 per cent. bonds and issued \$3,500,000 of stock. Again in 1886 there was \$1,000,000 more of stock issued to retire \$1,000,000 of bonds.

Then in 1890 occurred an issue of \$5,500,000 of stock at 75 to retire the first mortgage bonds which matured in 1891. In 1894 \$5,000,000 additional stock was put out to retire an equal amount of 'debenture' bonds, thus leaving its present bonded debt at \$5,000,000 maturing in 1917, but which are quite likely to be refunded into a 3 ½ per cent. bond in the near future and further stock to offset it. / Now let us glance at the matter of dividends. It is interesting to note that for fifty-six years the company paid cash dividends continuously, excepting in the four years, 1877 to 1880, inclusive [emphasis added]. In that time it has distributed \$61,800,000 cash, and \$5,000,000 of stock among its stockholders. / This is a remarkable record, and it is worthy of note that for a period of ten years preceding 1897 the stock did not sell below par. But the fatal year for Delaware & Hudson and for Lackawanna as well, was 1877 with its startling deficit of \$1,147,322, and in 1878 and 1879 deficits are also shown [emphasis added]. But the truth is that there have been other years when its dividends have not been earned and when they could not have been paid had it not been for its surplus. This was the case in 1895 and in 1896. Unlike some of the other coal roads, Delaware & Hudson has no provision—for making good its capital as an offset to the coal mined, and it is consequently exhausting its capital as the years go on.' ” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 4, 1898, p. 5)

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Huckleberry Excursus, 1872-1884

During the troubled times of the 1870s, many out-of-work and/or unemployed persons in the anthracite coal fields, particularly in the upper Lackawanna Valley, picked and sold huckleberries. Survival was the name of the game.

The hillsides and areas along the many railroad tracks in the area were ideal locations for growing huckleberries. The soil, from the soot of the railroad engines, mines, and breakers made the soil acidic. Huckleberries require acidic soil with a pH range of 4.3 to 5.2. They will grow in full sun or shade. Huckleberries are perennial evergreen shrubs about 2 to 3 feet tall when grown in full sun but may become 10 feet or more when grown in shade conditions. When found in shaded areas, the huckleberry plants are larger and lusher than plants in the full sun.

As William Simmons discovered on Monday, August 1, 1870, the dry hillsides above Carbondale are an ideal location for huckleberries and—rattlesnakes!

"A large Rattlesnake, with thirteen rattles, was killed on the mountain, by William Simmons on Monday last, and brought to town. The Spring fires did not destroy either all the [huckle]berries or all the snakes." (*Carbondale Advance*, August 6, 1870, p. 3)

In late July 1872, we read in the July 27 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, the streets of Carbondale were overrun with huckleberry vendors, and huckleberries were selling for 10 cents a quart:

“Our streets are overrun with huckleberry vendors. It is a difficult matter to get rid of them at ten cents per quart.” (*Carbondale Leader*, July 27, 1872, p. 3)

The large crop of huckleberries that were picked and brought into Carbondale in 1874 where bought and marketed by J. R. Shepherd and X. W. Williams, primarily in Susquehanna and Binghamton:

"The huckleberry crop, which is now being gathered by scores of industrious hands, is a large one this year in this section. Many bushels are brought into town daily. J. R. Shepherd and X. W. Williams are shipping large quantities to Susquehanna and Binghamton, where they bring good prices." (*Carbondale Leader*, August 1, 1874, p. 3)

In August 1874, huckleberries were selling for six to eight cents a quart in Carbondale. Large quantities were brought into Carbondale and shipped north:

“Huckleberries are now selling here for only six cents per quart. Many bushels are brought into town daily and shipped to places up north. Last week the price was eight cents.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 8, 1874, p. 3)

There were three fruit dealers in Carbondale, and by late August 1874 they had purchased 11,200 quarts of local berries and shipped them to Binghamton and Susquehanna.

“The three fruit dealers in Carbondale have shipped this year, to the Binghamton and Susquehanna markets, 11,200 quarts of huckleberries—a larger quantity, we believe, than has been shipped during any year heretofore. A little over seven cents per quart has been paid to the pickers, but reckoning the price paid at seven cents per quart, the amount distributed to the industrious pickers is \$784.” (*Leader*, August 22, 1874, p. 3)

On July 26, 1876, J. R. Shepherd & Co. took 50 bushels of huckleberries that were picked locally; on the preceding day, Shepherd & Co. took in and shipped 30 bushels. The financial rewards for the pickers and sellers of these huckleberries, noted the journalist for the *Carbondale Leader* on July 29, were significant.

“J. R. Shepherd & Co. took in fifty bushels of huckleberries on Wednesday—the largest amount they ever received in one day. On Tuesday they received and shipped thirty bushels. Their shipments this week have been large each day. Other parties, some from Binghamton and some from this city, have also been buying and shipping this week. The huckleberry crop is larger this year than it was ever known to be; at least more have been gathered and sold this summer than ever were gathered and sold during any previous season. The crop is not yet by any means exhausted, for as fast as the berries are picked more ripen; and the harvest will continue without abatement during the next week and probably longer. A considerable amount of money has been distributed among the laboring classes which they would not have received but for the huckleberry crop [emphasis added]. The weather has been very favorable for the pickers for the last ten days.” (*Carbondale Leader*, July 29, 1876, p. 3)

The Huckleberry Brigade in Carbondale in August 1876 was large and industrious:

“The Huckleberry Brigade is still as industrious as usual. The members now number more than they ever did before. They march and counter march from town to hillside and from hillside to town at all hours of the day. It is painful to think that their season of sport will soon be ended, but they must console themselves with the thought that they have had fine weather during the greater portion of their carnival.” (*Leader*, August 5, 1876, p. 3)

Twenty to forty bushels of huckleberries were received and shipped daily from Carbondale in early August 1876:

“The shipment of huckleberries continues. J. R. Shepherd & Co. have received and shipped from twenty to forty bushels per day since our last issue. Although the demand for this fruit is great, the supply seems to be greater. Other parties are shipping a few to Binghamton and Susquehanna. The berries now gathered are of an excellent quality. Huckleberries have now been in the market six weeks, and the crop will be abundant for at least another week.” (*Leader*, August 5, 1876, p. 3)

In 1876, Messrs. J. R. Shepherd & Co. received/purchased in Carbondale over thirteen thousand quarts of huckleberries and shipped them to Binghamton and other places. The local pickers of that astonishing quantity of huckleberries were primarily out-of-work and/or unemployed miners and railroaders and their families.

“Messrs. J. R. Shepherd & Co. have shipped this year to Binghamton and other places 13,728 quarts of huckleberries. The average price paid for the berries was six cents per quart, amounting to \$823.68, which was circulated among the poorer portion of the community.” (*Carbondale Leader*, September 9, 1876, p. 3)

1876 was a banner year for picking and selling huckleberries, and the prospects for the 1877 season, the *Carbondale Leader* noted on July 7, 1877, looked even better.

- "There is no end, so to speak, to the berries that will soon be ready for the industrious pickers; and, as the times are so dull, work so difficult to obtain, and the laboring portion of our population so needy, they will gather and sell all the berries they possibly can from this time until the middle of August."
- The "Huckleberry Brigade" in Carbondale was large and diverse: "Men and women, as well as boys and girls of all ages and sizes, will assist in gathering the fruit; and some families will have as many as half a dozen pickers in the field at once."
- The journalist writing for the *Carbondale Leader* recognized the important financial impact that the huckleberry trade had for the community in the hard times then at hand: "This temporary industry will be the means of bringing several hundred dollars of money into this community which would not otherwise find its way into it but for the fine huckleberry crop; and to our working people it will come as a godsend at this time."

Here is the complete article on the huckleberry season in early July in Carbondale in 1877:

“The huckleberry crop on the mountains in this vicinity will be as large as it was last year, if not larger. The crop of 1876 was one of the largest ever known, and the poor people accumulated many a dollar from the sale of the fruit which they picked. More huckleberries were shipped from Carbondale last year than during any previous season, and it now looks as if a much larger quantity would be shipped this year than last season. There is no end, so to speak, to the berries that will soon be ready for the industrious pickers; and, as the times are so dull, work so difficult to obtain, and the laboring portion of our population so needy, they will gather and sell all the berries they possibly can from this time until the middle of August. Already quite large quantities of this fruit have been sold in town, but next week the work will begin in real earnest. Last year the season for gathering huckleberries continued from the last week in June till the second or third week in August, and hundreds of bushels were shipped from Carbondale to various points. The price per quart then varied from five to seven cents, according to the demand. The ‘huckleberry brigade’ have been anticipating a large crop, and have also been on the alert for the first ripe berries. Men and women, as well as boys and girls of all ages and sizes, will assist in

gathering the fruit; and some families will have as many as half a dozen pickers in the field at once. Messrs. J. R. Shepherd & Co., who were the only legitimate shippers from this city last year, will again enter largely into the purchase and shipment of berries. They have rented the room in Ad Durfee's building where they will receive and ship huckleberries from this time till the close of the berry season. The price to be paid per quart has not yet been decided on. The greater portion of the fruit will go to Binghamton which last year absorbed the crop gathered from this section. This temporary industry will be the means of bringing several hundred dollars of money into this community which would not otherwise find its way into it but for the fine huckleberry crop; and to our working people it will come as a godsend at this time." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 7, 1877, p. 3)

As many as one hundred bushels of huckleberries a day were received and shipped from Carbondale by Messrs. J. R. Shepherd & Co. during the 1877 huckleberry season:

"Messrs. J. R. Shepherd & Co. are shipping large quantities of huckleberries to Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Auburn, Elmira, Owego, Binghamton, and other towns in New York. They have bought as many as one hundred bushels a day on some days, and often from fifty to sixty bushels per day." (*Carbondale Leader*, August 4, 1877, p. 3)

The laboring people of Carbondale were paid not less than \$3,800 for huckleberries during the 1877 season:

"The huckleberry statistics which we publish this week cannot fail to be of interest to the average local reader. Probably not less than \$3,800 have been disbursed among the laboring people of this city for huckleberries alone, nearly every poor family, the members of which were able to work, having received a portion of it." (*Carbondale Leader*, August 25, 1877, p. 3)

In 1877, four times more huckleberries were shipped from Carbondale than in any previous season. These berries were picked, we learn from an article published in the *Carbondale Leader* on August 25, 1877, "all along the huckleberry ridge from here to Archbald." The season commenced July 6 and ended August 21.

This especially large crop of huckleberries was a god-send to the pickers of those berries: "The large crop and the continuously brisk demand were a god-send to our poor but industrious citizens who have earned many an honest dollar which they could not have earned had it not been for the berry crop [emphasis added]."

An article titled "**HUCKLEBERRY STATISTICS THAT BEAT ALL PREVIOUS STATEMENTS**" was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 25, 1877. From that article we learn that:

- In 1877, Messrs. J. R. Shepherd & Co. received and shipped 42,036 quarts, or 1,313 bushels, and 20 quarts, paying for the same \$2,299.27. These huckleberries were shipped by the D&H and sold in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Elmira, Owego, Binghamton, Susquehanna, and other places in New York.
- The shipments by the United States Express Company, the D. & L. Express Company, and the D. L. & W. Co. are equally astonishing: "The United States Express Co. received and shipped, from July 6 to August 6, 35,515 quarts or 1,109 bushels and 27 quarts, and, had there been no trouble on the railroads west, the shipments would have been at least 200 bushels more. This is 6,577 quarts more than the D. & L. Express Co. shipped during the same period. The total amount of berries shipped by the U. S. Co. for the berry season, commencing July 6 and ending August 21, is 46,316 quarts, or 1,447 bushels and 12 quarts. / From July 6 to August 6 the D. L. & W. Co. shipped 28,938—904 bushels— or 13,106 quarts—409 bushels—less than Shepherd & Co.'s shipments for the season."

Here is that wonderfully informative article from the August 25, 1877 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*:

"HUCKLEBERRY STATISTICS THAT BEAT ALL PREVIOUS STATEMENTS. / This season has been the most prolific one for huckleberries of any ever known in this section; that is to say, there has been a greater quantity shipped from here than was ever shipped before. Perhaps we should not exaggerate much if we were to say that four times as many have been sent to market from Carbondale this year as in any previous season. There has been a demand, ever since the season opened the first week of July, for all the berries that could be gathered here. The season lasted seven weeks, and during that time our pickers have been industriously active. They have gathered the crop all along the huckleberry ridge from here to Archbald, many berries, during the latter part of the season, having been brought by the pickers on foot six or eight miles to this market. The large crop and the continuously brisk demand were a god-send to our poor but industrious citizens who have earned many an honest dollar which they could not have earned had it not been for the berry crop. Last year Messrs. J. R. Shepherd & Co. shipped 13,728 quarts, for which they paid \$823, an average of about six cents per quart. This season they have shipped the enormous quantity of 42,036 quarts, or 1,313 bushels, and 20 quarts, paying for the same \$2,299.27, or an average of nearly 5 ½ cents per quart. These berries were shipped to Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Elmira, Owego, Binghamton, Susquehanna, and other places in New York. The detention of trains on the different railroads caused by the strike made transportation so uncertain that, for at least one week during the best part of the season, they did

not ship one-half the berries they would otherwise have shipped in that time. The season commenced July 6 and ended August 21. They also sold during that time considerable quantities to townspeople for the same price that they paid. / The United States Express Co. received and shipped, from July 6 to August 6, 35,515 quarts or 1,109 bushels and 27 quarts, and, had there been no trouble on the railroads west, the shipments would have been at least 200 bushels more. This is 6,577 quarts more than the D. & L. Express Co. shipped during the same period. The total amount of berries shipped by the U. S. Co. for the berry season, commencing July 6 and ending August 21, is 46,316 quarts, or 1,447 bushels and 12 quarts. / From July 6 to August 6 the D. L. & W. Co. shipped 28,938—904 bushels—or 13,106 quarts—409 bushels—less than Shepherd & Co.'s shipments for the season." (*Carbondale Leader*, August 25, 1877, p. 3)

The 1878 huckleberry crop was considered "nearly a failure". Nevertheless, nearly two thousand bushels (64 thousand quarts) were shipped from Carbondale that year. The money received from the sale of those berries, we read in the *Carbondale Leader* of August 10, 1878, "was distributed among hundreds of families, where it could not fail to prove a blessing. Many families earned on an average from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day through the season." Here is that article from the *Carbondale Leader*:

“Huckleberries. / Notwithstanding the fact that the huckleberry crop has been considered nearly a failure this year, the enterprising firm of Packer & Munger, have shipped to various parties, about one thousand bushels of berries. Some one or two other parties, who entered the field later in the season have shipped about the same amount, making in all nearly two thousand bushels, or sixty-four thousand quarts, which at eight cents per quart, (the average price paid) would amount to the snug sum of \$5120, which amount has been distributed among hundreds of families, where it could not fail to prove a blessing. Many families earned on an average from \$1.75 to \$2.50 per day through the season.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 10, 1878, p. 3)

In mid-July 1880, from two to four thousand quarts of whortleberries were shipped from Carbondale daily.

“The whortleberry [another name for huckleberries] business has been increasingly lively this week, shipments from 2,000 to 4,000 quarts daily. Some of the buyers are the liveliest men in town.” (*Carbondale Advance*, July 17, 1880, p. 3)

On July 29, 1881, Mrs. Harry Van Vorst, nee Josephine Sisson, was struck and killed by lightning as she and her husband and Mr. Williams were returning to town from picking huckleberries on the mountain above Carbondale:

“DEATH BY LIGHTNING. / The most violent thunder storm known in Carbondale for many years occurred on last Friday afternoon. For more than half an hour the rain poured down in torrents, and the crashing of the thunder and flashing of the lightning was fearful in the extreme. From appearances two heavy storms met just over the town, and this would account for the great volume and severity. Considerable damage was done by the flooding of the lower parts of the town; some of the streets and gutters were badly washed out, and cellars filled. The most destructive effects were, however, occasioned by the lightning. As a party of huckleberry pickers, including Mr. and Mrs. Harry Van Vorst, and a Mr. Williams, were approaching the town, just on the brow of the mountain, the fluid struck in that place, instantly killing Mrs. Van Vorst, and prostrating her husband and Mr. Williams, by the violent shock. Van Vorst was a little ahead of his wife, and Mr. Williams a few feet in the rear. On recovering himself, Van Vorst discovered that his wife was dead, though he made an effort to resuscitate her by bathing her face and neck with water. He then took her lifeless body in his arms and had carried it a few rods when he was overtaken by a man with a team, who kindly carried the corpse to his home. The news of the occurrence soon reached town, and caused a great sensation. Though but little known, the family living in a remote part of the city, the sympathies of people were excited, and the kindest attentions were shown to the afflicted family. The funeral occurred on Sunday afternoon, from the Presbyterian church and was largely attended. An appropriate sermon was preached by Rev. E. D. Bryan. / The deceased was formerly Josephine Sisson, and her parents and relatives reside in Greenfield. She leaves two interesting children, a girl about six and a boy four years of age.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 5, 1881, p. 4)

In early August 1881, about nine thousand eight hundred quarts of huckleberries were shipped from Carbondale daily.

“The Huckleberry Trade. / Messrs O’Hearn and Lynady are shipping about 5,000 quarts daily; Messrs. Hughes & McDonough about 1800 daily; L. C. Hathaway about 3000 daily.” (*Carbondale Advance*, August 6, 1881, p. 3)

By mid-August 1881, shipments to market of huckleberries by shippers in the Lackawanna Valley—other than those by shippers from Carbondale—totaled more than six thousand bushels, valued at more than \$12,000:

“The Huckleberry Trade. / We have spoken in our columns of the magnitude of the Huckleberry Trade, and given the names, and to some extent the business done weekly, of the parties engaged in it. We are now informed that the quantity shipped from this point in the aggregate to the close of last week by the Del. Lack. & Western express has been 2194 bushels,

netting to dealers here \$4213. The quantity shipped by Adams' Express, North to the Erie has been about the same as by the D. L. & W. Express. Again, about the same quantity has been shipped from the three towns combined of Jermyn, Archbald and Peckville. It is safe to assume, probably that the net results of the trade to Northern Lackawanna has exceeded \$12,000." (*Carbondale Advance*, August 20, 1881, p. 3)

In 1882, shipment of huckleberries to market from Carbondale began in the third week of July, when Messrs. O'Hearn & Lynady and L. C. Hathaway shipped about 100 bushels:

"The Huckleberry Trade / Messrs. O'Hearn & Lynady, and L. C. Hathaway have commenced the shipment of berries this week, and have each bought and shipped about 1500 quarts—aggregating for the two not quite 100 bushels. In the height of the season the shipments will probably reach that per day." (*Carbondale Advance*, July 22, 1882, p. 3)

Rev. George W. Baker discovered upon the mountain above Carbondale whortleberry bushes that bear ripe whortleberries that are nearly white. Those white berries resembled the common whortleberry in shape and size, and the flavor was said to be agreeable:

"White Whortleberries. / Rev. George W. Baker has left upon our table specimens of a new variety of whortleberries, picked upon the mountain, that are in color nearly white. He says he has noticed them and watched them for years, and that their quantity seems to be increasing. They resemble the common whortleberry in shape and size, and the flavor is agreeable." (*Carbondale Advance*, August 5, 1882, p.3)

Forest fires burned over much of No. 4 mountain in the spring of 1883, making it very likely that huckleberries there would be scarce during the summer:

"The forest fires have burned over the greater part of No. 4 mountain this spring, and huckleberries will be scarce." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 25, 1883, p.3)

On July 24, 1884, a berry picker was struck by a train under the highworks in Carbondale and had one of her legs cut off.

"Mrs. George Cuff, a berry picker, who lives on Shanty Hill, was knocked down by the cars as she was walking along the track under the highworks yesterday afternoon, and had one of her legs cut off. She was taken to her home in one of the company's wagons." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 25, 1884, p. 2)

With the majority of locally-picked huckleberries being shipped out of town, huckleberries for home consumption, the *Carbondale Leader* noted on August 1, 1884, are scarce:

“Shipping such quantities of huckleberries to points abroad, seriously interferes with the supply for home consumption. Very few berries are now offered for sale on the streets or at private houses.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 1, 1884, p. 4)

From the biographical portrait of Frank L. Spafford that was published in the February 15, 1928 issue of *The Delaware and Hudson Company Bulletin*, we learn that huckleberry pickers frequently were "non-revenue passengers" on the coal cars on the Gravity Railroad:

On January 1, 1885, Frank L. Spafford, 12 Dickson Place, Carbondale, began working on the Gravity railroad. "The days that followed he never will forget. Hardships of winter were tempered by the gaiety of summer travel. The gravity road made Farview, noted for its wonderful view, a mecca for picnic parties and excursion trains loaded to capacity with a human cargo, carefree and happy, were run almost daily during the summer season. It was a gay life, indeed, even for railroad folk. Non-revenue passengers, berry pickers for the greater part, 'patronized' the coal trains in great numbers, meanwhile, and it was not an uncommon sight to see women, singly or in pairs, standing on the bumpers of the little cars as they rolled across some level." (Biographical portrait of Frank L. Spafford ("Gravity Life One Big Thrill") that was published on pp. 51-52 of the February 15, 1928 issue of *The Delaware and Hudson Company Bulletin*)

In July 1887, Mrs. Mary Nealon of Archbald, in returning home from huckleberrying near Jermyn, stepped in front of Conductor Robbins' train and was killed.

"Mrs. Mary Nealon, of Archbald, was fatally injured by the cars at Jermyn on Tuesday. She had been huckleberrying near Jermyn, and in returning home about four o'clock, was walking along the track. When near the Jermyn station in order to pass a train that was standing there she stepped from the down to the up track just as Conductor Robbins' train came along. The engine struck her, and she was so badly injured as to cause her death in a few hours. She was about sixty years of age, a widow, and leaves several grown up children." (*The Journal*, July 14, 1887, p. 3)

During the huckleberry season in 1892, there were very few huckleberry pickers on the mountain above Carbondale, even though there were plenty of berries. One of the Carbondale shippers, J. O'Hearn, told the *Carbondale Leader* that "The [huckleberry] business has be ruined by the Hungarian and Polish berrypickers who do their work so cheaply in other parts of the coal regions that we cannot successfully compete for the market."

Small Huckleberry Crop. / The huckleberry season is now ended and the sight of a berry picker on the mountain side is a rare one. The season has not been a good one. A few years ago enormous quantities of the little blue berries were shipped from this point to the centres of trade, but the shipments this summer have been but a few thousand baskets. The 'harvest is great, but the laborers are few.' There are plenty of berries but they wither and rot on the hillsides because there are not enough who are willing to pick them at the price which can be paid. / J. O'Hearn handled practically all the berries that went from this vicinity to the markets this year. When asked why he had not shipped a greater quantity he said: 'We couldn't get them. The business has been ruined by the Hungarian and Polish berrypickers who do their work so cheaply in other parts of the coal regions that we cannot successfully compete for the market. The foreigner takes his whole family on the mountain when there is an idle day in the mines and gladly accept five cents a quart for the product of their labor. The American picker around here won't work for such figures, and all we can pay is the market price if we hope to see our goods in competition with the dealers of the Schuylkill region.' (*Carbondale Leader*, September 7, 1892, p. 4)

Photograph, dated July 3, 1906, of "Berry Pickers at Panther Bluffs" published in March 15, 1962 edition, p. 7, of *Carbondale News*. This photograph in the *News* was made by Wade E. Taylor from a glass plate negative in his collection. In the photograph, three women, wearing long dresses and babushkas, are shown carrying huckleberries on their backs as they walk beside the tracks in the Panther Bluffs area.



Huckleberry pickers that resembled these three women (previous page) were a common sight in Simpson as late as the 1950s, when the author attended high school there. Such berry pickers would also sometimes carry baskets of berries on top of their heads.

There are very few huckleberry pickers on the Moosic Mountain at present.

The huckleberry crop on the Moosic Mountain, then, as we have shown above, saved the day for many out-of-work and/or unemployed miners and railroaders in the upper Lackawanna Valley during the troubled times of the 1870s.

Other Specialty Food Trains

In addition to these D&H and Erie "huckleberry trains" from Carbondale during the 1870s and 1880s, two other specialty food trains that came into or passed through the Lackawanna Valley in the late nineteenth century can be named.

The first are the D. L. & W. strawberry trains that originated at Oswego in upstate New York in June and passed through Scranton on their way to New York City

“THE STRAWBERRY TRAINS. / An interesting feature of the traffic on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad just now, is the strawberry train that runs nightly from Oswego to New York at express speed, laden with the luscious foundations of shortcake for the gourmands of Gotham. Last night about eleven o’clock the ‘Strawberry Train’ of five large cars packed with fruit passed through this city [Scranton]. The train generally reaches New York in time for the early morning markets, which are adorned with the berries plucked in the extensive beds of Oswego the evening previous.—*Scranton Republican*.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 26, 1880, p. 3)

The second of the food-specialty trains in the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valleys in the nineteenth century were the oyster trains on the Jersey Central. These trains originated at Long Branch and arrived at Scranton daily, about noon.

“The Jersey Central is now running an oyster train between Long Branch and Scranton. No schedule has yet been made for it, but it will find a place on the fall and winter arrangement which will soon be out. The train arrives at Scranton about noon each day.” (*Carbondale Leader*, October 5, 1892, p. 2)

Pay Day

With all the turbulence during the 1870s related to money in the anthracite coal fields of northeastern Pennsylvania, it is fitting that we close this volume on the troubled 1870s by taking a look at D&H salaries and pay days for the miners, railroad, and canal workers on the D&H.

The D&H paid its employees in cash. That we have learned from P. S. Joslin's article about the early days of Carbondale ("Carbondale in its Infancy") that was published in the August 5, 1899 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, p. 6. Therein, we read:

"The D. & H. company paid cash to its employes, consequently Carbondale was a cash centre, where every thing for the supply of the wants of its people, brought ready money. The Lackawanna and Wyoming valleys found a ready market for their flour, while Susquehanna, and Broome counties, and even as far away as Owego, found a market for their pork, butter, cheese and grain."

After a period of unprecedented prosperity, fueled originally by the economic demands of the Civil War, the nation plunged into a depression (caused by over-speculation in land and securities, issuance of too much paper money, and increasing inflation). Over 5,000 businesses failed in 1873, and another 5,000 or so failed before the recovery was complete in about 1879.

Working conditions and wages for anthracite miners worsened during the years following the end of the Civil War. National economic depression in the 1870s and 1880s, an expanding national transportation system, increasing use of machinery that resulted in greater reliance upon semi-skilled and unskilled labor, and an influx of immigrants seeking employment all combined to worsening labor conditions.

The paymaster for the D&H in and before 1841 was Alexander Ruthven, who was one of the sons of Robert Ruthven who, together with his family, came to Carbondale in 1841. That fact we learn from the obituary of James Ruthven, brother of Alexander Ruthven. Therein we read that Alexander Ruthven "had been acting for sometime previous [to 1841] as chief clerk and paymaster for the D. & H. C. C. at this place [Carbondale]."

Here is the obituary of James Ruthven that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of November 11, 1887:

"DEATH OF JAMES RUTHVEN. / Once of Carbondale, and Later a Prominent Citizen of Scranton. / James Ruthven, a prominent citizen of Scranton, died in that city yesterday morning.

He was stricken with paralysis over a year ago and was then laid aside from the duties of practical life. Mr. Ruthven was born September 23, 1826, and was the son of Robert Ruthven, who was at one time a prominent business man in Boston, and for one or two sessions represented that city in part in the General Court. The deceased came with his father's family to Carbondale in 1841. An older brother, the late Alexander Ruthven, had been acting for sometime previous as chief clerk and paymaster for the D. & H. C. C. at this place [emphasis added]. James was employed in various capacities for the company here and as clerk in the post office until 1857, when he removed to Scranton, where he soon assumed an important position in the coal department of the D. L. & W. Co., in whose employ he remained until incapacitated by illness. . . Before leaving Carbondale the deceased was united in marriage to Mary Ann, a daughter of the late Patrick Archbald. . ." (*Carbondale Leader*, November 11, 1887, p. 4)

From 1844 to 1855, Charles Pemberton Wurts (1824-1892) served as the D&H Paymaster or general disbursing agent in Carbondale. Here are some facts about this remarkable man:

--Charles Pemberton Wurts was a son of George and Abigail Petitt Wurts (as well as the adopted son of John Wurts, third president of the D&H). Born in 1824 in Montville, NJ, he began working for the D&H at age 19. He married Laura Jay in 1854. She was a granddaughter of Peter Augustus Jay and the great granddaughter of Supreme Court justice and diplomat John Jay. They had 6 children. Soon after his arrival in Carbondale, in 1843, he was appointed assistant to James Archbald, the general superintendent of the D&H, serving in that capacity until James Archbald removed to Scranton in 1853, when C. P. Wurts assumed entire charge of the D&H's affairs.

--About 1856, Charles Pemberton Wurts and Maurice Wurts (another son of George Wurts and Abigail Petit, and one of the founders of the D&H), plus members of the Dickson and Pierson families moved to Scranton and erected a foundry and machine shop, known as Dickson & Co. (manufacture and repair of mining machinery—later Dickson Manufacturing Company).

--C. P. Wurts played a key role in the establishment of the 1856-1858 configuration of the roadbed of the D&H Gravity Railroad. At this time the D&H purchased 16 75-horse power engines from the Dickson Manufacturing Company, Scranton, for use on all planes. C. P. Wurts continued in charge of the Delaware & Hudson interests until 1864, when he was succeeded by Thomas Dickson. Upon the death of his Aunt Martha Potts Haskins Wurts (widow of former D&H Canal Company president, John Wurts) in 1861, C. P. Wurts was named the main beneficiary of her considerable estate, which caused some friction in the family. Upon his retirement, C. P. Wurts went abroad with his family and spent several years in Europe. C. P. Wurts and his family moved to New Haven, CT in the mid 1877. He died in 1892.

Lebbeus Egerton served as paymaster of the D&H for thirteen years (1856-1869) beginning in 1856. From his obituary, which is given below, we learn that Lebbeus Egerton was named after his father, who was the governor of Vermont. In 1856, he came to Carbondale to accept the position as Paymaster of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, which position he held for 13 years. He then became Freight and Passenger Agent for the Pennsylvania Division of the D&H, a position from which he retired on December 31, 1884. Here is the obituary of Lebbeus Egerton:

"DEATH OF L. EGERTON. / One of the Most Prominent Men of the City and Valley—His Life. / Lebbeus Egerton, whose life had hung on the brink of death for several days, passed away at twenty-five minutes past eleven last Tuesday in the presence of his immediate relatives and the family physician. It is but a week or so since Mr. Egerton was seen on the streets and it seems hardly possible that he has gone forever. / The immediate cause of his death was heart failure. The vitality of a long and active life had spent itself, and on Thursday last he was stricken down to his bed. For a time it seemed as if he would not last through the night but he lingered, though it cannot be said that he improved, and his death was not unexpected to the physicians, Drs. Wheeler, of this city, Mayor, of Wilkes-Barre, and Burnett, of Scranton, who did all they could for him, for men of his age seldom recover from such a prostration. / Mr. Egerton had been so prominent in public and social life here that there are few who do not know him either personally, or at sight, or by reputation. He was born in Randolph, Orange County, Vermont, on March 17, 1812 and was therefore nearly seventy-seven years of age. He was the only child of Lebbeus Egerton, governor of Vermont in the thirties, and a descendant of one of the oldest families of New England. In 1856 he came to Carbondale to accept the position of paymaster of the D. & H. C. Co., the duties of which he discharged so faithfully for thirteen years that at the end of that time he was made Freight and Passenger Agent of the Pennsylvania Division. He was retired from this office with salary until death, by the company, on Dec. 31st, 1884 [emphasis added]. Since then he has not been idle, and he has held the post of secretary and treasurer of both the Carbondale Gas Co. and the Crystal Lake Water Co. Besides these positions he has always been a prominent and active member of Trinity Episcopal church and for many years a vestryman in the society. / On January 7th, 1836, Mr. Egerton married Miss Jane Baldwyn, of St. Johns, Canada, whose death occurred three years ago. It is said that he never fully recovered from this shock and that was the beginning of the breaking up which culminated last night. Six children were born to them, two sons and four daughters, four of whom are still living—L. Egerton, of Cortland, N. Y.; Mrs. Charles Wilson, of Nebraska City, Neb.; and Misses Kate and Mercy Egerton, of this city." (clipping in the Gritman scrapbook, dated Friday, February 1, 1889)

At the end of the thirteen year tenure of Lebbeus Atherton as D&H paymaster in 1868, Robert H. Atwater served as paymaster for the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company for less than a year, resigning in 1868. (Atwater married Caroline Augusta Sykes in 1859. She was born c. 1835, and was the daughter of Eliza Ann Wurts and Lorenzo A. Sykes. Caroline's mother was a daughter of George Wurts, 1777-1835, who was a brother of Maurice and William Wurts, the founding fathers of Carbondale and the D&H. Atwater served as secretary of the Rondout and Oswego Railroad Company until 1867.)

In January 1869, it was announced in the *Carbondale Advance* that a new pay office was to be opened by the D&H in Scranton, with Mr. Atherton, then Paymaster at Providence, to take charge of the new Scranton office.

"The expanding and increasing business of the Del. & Hudson C. Co., and especially its extension down the valley have seemed to make a new pay office necessary, in that direction. It is stated that one is accordingly to be opened at Scranton. The measure it is understood will produce some changes in the other offices. It is reported that Mr. Atherton, Paymaster at Providence, will have charge of the Scranton office, Mr. James H. Johnson, assistant Paymaster here, have charge of the Providence office, and L. Egerton Esq. remaining here*." *Carbondale Advance*, Saturday, January 2, 1869, p. 3

*Lebbeus Egerton remained in Carbondale as Freight and Passenger Agent of the Pennsylvania Division until his retirement on December 31, 1884.

In February 1869, both a new manner of paying D&H employees and a new time for paying employees were initiated. Those changes were not popular with the employees.

"The Unpopular Pay Car. / The new manner of paying the employees of the D. & H. C. Co., is very unpopular here, and we probably ought also to add the *time* of paying. There is an immense amount of grumbling." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 20, 1869, p. 3)

The new manner of paying was via a pay car. In the *Carbondale Advance* of March 13, 1869 we read:

"The Pay Car. / This new Institution has visited us twice this week, being early and seasonable for the present month. (*Carbondale Advance*, Saturday, March 13, 1869, p. 3)

From an article that was published in the February 27, 1869 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*, we learn some very interesting facts about pay day and the D&H:

- The D&H Paymaster of the railroad and mining departments in 1869 was Mr. Atherton
- On Saturday, February 20th, Paymaster Atherton finished paying the D&H employees in the railroad department, which extended from Wilkes-Barre to Honesdale, and included the mines. The sum required was \$555,000; \$35,000 was expended from the summit, above Waymart, to Honesdale. It was for seven weeks' work.
- Paymaster Tracy, of the canal department, reaching from Honesdale to Rondout, made payments, last week, amounting to \$225,000 for about six weeks' work.
- A total of \$775,000 was paid out by the D&H in late-February 1869.

Here is that article from the February 27, 1869 issue of the *Carbondale Advance*:

"LARGE DISBURSEMENTS.--Paymaster Atherton, of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company, on Saturday, finished paying the employees of the railroad department. It extends from Wilkesbarre to Honesdale, and includes the mines. The sum required was \$555,000; \$35,000 was expended from the summit, above Waymart, to Honesdale. It was for seven weeks' work. / Paymaster Tracy, of the canal department, reaching from Honesdale to Rondout, made payments, last week, amounting to \$225,000 for about six weeks' work. / This gives a total of \$775,000 paid out by this company alone. The Pennsylvania Coal Company and the Erie have also made large expenditures, to the great advantage of every man in business in our county or vicinity.--*Wayne Citizen.*" (*Carbondale Advance*, Saturday, February 27, 1869, p. 3)

The *Passaic* and the *Moosic* were the Gravity pay cars. From *Passenger, Freight and Work Equipment on the Delaware and Hudson* (1927, p. 20) we learn the following facts about those two cars:

- The "Passaic" was built at Carbondale in 1868. The seats ran along the side and were arranged in the open ends as well as in the enclosed sections and provided seating accommodations for about twenty persons.
- The "Moosic" was similar to the "Passaic" although somewhat larger.
- The "Moosic" and the "Passaic:" were both built for paying employees on the Gravity Railroad.

- The "Passaic" operated between Waymart and Honesdale.
- The "Moosic" operated from the foot of 'G' in Olyphant to Waymart.
- Both the "Moosic" and the "Passaic" were occasionally used for inspection trips and in passenger service."

Here is that material from *Passenger, Freight and Work Equipment on the Delaware and Hudson* (1927, p. 20):

"The 'Passaic' was built at Carbondale in 1868. The seats ran along the side and, as will be observed, were arranged in the open ends as well as in the enclosed sections and provided seating accommodations for about twenty persons. Another car, the 'Moosic,' though somewhat larger, was built along similar lines. The cars were specially constructed for paying employes on the Gravity. The 'Passaic' operated between Waymart and Honesdale and the 'Moosic' from the foot of 'G,' Olyphant to Waymart. Occasionally the cars were used for inspection trips and in passenger service."

Here is a photograph of the *Passaic*, having descended Level 20 through Shepherd's Crook, and here heading towards White's Crossing. The print of this photograph shown here is in the Alan G. Dustin Collection of the Carbondale D&H Transportation Museum.



The "Passaic" also operated on the Gravity Railroad in Archbald, as we can see in the Hensel photograph given below.

Hensel stereocard No. 1137: *View of Archibald [sic] and Coal Breaker, seen from Railroad* (shown in the left foreground is the Passaic in Archbald). One-half of the stereocard, in the collection of the Carbondale Historical Society. In this view, the pay car *Passaic* and a group of men are in the left foreground. On the right, in the distance, is (as shown on the 1873 D. G. Beers map of Archbald) the Eaton & Co. Breaker. The church of Saint Thomas Aquinas is in the distance, center. This view was shot by Hensel on the loaded track on Level 25, in Archbald, between the head of No. 25 (between Archbald and Peckville) and the foot of 26 (in Frogtown, Archbald).



The Passaic on the loaded track on Level 25, in Archbald.

On Monday, April 14, 1873, the miners employed at the D. & H. C. Co.'s mines near this city received their monthly pay.

"Last Monday, the miners employed at the D. & H. C. Co.'s mines near this city received their monthly pay. More money was paid out here for mining this month than has been paid at any one month for a long time past. Sixty-five thousand dollars were paid out here to the miners, and several thousand more to the men employed on the roads and in the different work-shops. This large amount of money is well scattered now, and every branch of business has received some of it." (*Carbondale Leader*, April 19, 1873, p. 3)

The men employed on the D&H railroad and in the D&H shops were paid monthly. In May 1873, they were paid on Saturday, May 10, the miners were paid on Wednesday, May 14:

"The men employed on the railroad and in the shops of the D. & H. C. Co. received their monthly pay last Saturday. The miners were paid on Wednesday." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 17, 1873, p. 3)

The paymaster for the D&H Canal, M. L. Tracy, made his one hundredth trip over the canal in mid-August 1873, having traveled in all those trips over 11,000 miles and having paid out \$7,009,281.12 to canal workers.

"Paymaster M. L. Tracy, of the D. & H. Co., made his one hundredth trip over the canal, last week. The distance travelled reaches a little over 11,000 miles. During these trips he has dispersed \$7,009,281.12 of 'filthy lucre.' " (*Carbondale Leader*, August 23, 1873, p. 3)

Shown on the following page is the D&H paymaster's launch, Minnie, on the D&H Canal. The print from which the photo shown here was made is in the archives of the Minisink Valley Historical Society. *Shaughnessy*, p. 20, says that 'the only power vessel to operate on the canal was the paymaster's launch, *Minnie*. . ."



D&H Paymaster's launch, *Minnie*. Photo in the collection of the Minisink Valley Historical Society

During the week ending October 18, 1873, more than 30 men were discharged from the D&H shops in Carbondale. The wages of those retained were reduced by ten per cent.

"Reduction. / The D. & H. C. Co. have this week discharged upwards of 30 men from their shops here, and it is said have reduced the wages of those retained 10 per cent. A reduction of about one tenth in the number of men employed, and another tenth in the wages paid, will be seriously felt here." (*Carbondale Advance*, October 18, 1873, p. 3)

On Tuesday, March 10, the D&H paid its shop and railroad men; on Friday, March 13, the D&H paid its miners and laborers.

"The D. & H. C. Co. paid its shop and railroad men on Tuesday, and its miners and laborers on Friday." *Carbondale Leader*, March 14, 1874, p. 3)

In the period May 10-16, 1874, over \$80,000 were paid to the employees of the D. & H. C. Co. in Carbondale. The mining and railroad workers between Wilkes-Barre and Honesdale are paid about \$600,000 monthly by the D&H:

“Over \$80,000 were this week paid to the employes of the D. & H. C. Co. in this city—the largest amount paid at one time since last fall. Mr. Atherton, the Company’s gentlemanly pay-master in this section, disburses monthly, to the mining and railroad departments between Wilkes-Barre and Honesdale, about \$600,000. Carbondale has lately received a fair share of this large amount of greenbacks.” (*Carbondale Leader*, May 16, 1874, p. 3)

In mid-June 1874, the wages of the machinists and other D&H shop men were reduced ten percent.

“The Del. & Hud. C. Co. have made a reduction of ten per cent in the wages of machinists and other shop men, and we believe other employees along the line of their works.” (*Carbondale Advance*, June 20, 1874, p. 3)

The regular monthly pay-day of the D&H invariably had an impact on the business community in Carbondale.

"The regular monthly pay-day of the D. & H. C. Co. has made a temporary revival to all kinds of business here." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 18, 1874, p. 3)

On Monday, August 10, 1874, the D&H shop men and railroad men were paid.

“The D. & H. C. Co.’s shop men and railroad men were paid on Monday.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 15, 1874)

When the D&H employees were working only three-quarter time, the amount of money they were paid by the D&H for services rendered was, it goes without saying, one quarter less than when they were working full time.

"The amount of money paid out by the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co., at the October and November pay, has been large, nearly equaling the old-time prosperous days. But from this time forward, for some months to come, the sums paid out will be much smaller, as the men are working but three-quarter time." (*Carbondale Advance*, November 21, 1874, p. 3)

The contract miners worked for, and were paid by, the coal companies. The laborers worked for, and were paid by, the contract miners. On January 14, 1875, a miner named Ross received his (and his laborer's) December pay and, without then paying his laborer his just salary, took a coal train on the gravity road for distant parts. It is unlikely that Maxwell will ever receive his just wages for services rendered to Ross. In the January 23, 1875 issue of the *Carbondale Leader* we read:

“A miner named Ross received his December pay and that of his helper named Maxwell, on Thursday of last week, and immediately took a coal train on the gravity road for distant parts. He didn't stop long enough to settle up with his laborer or with any one else, but thought he would seek fresh fields and pastures new. He went over the mountain on the day of the bank robbery, and when he got to Prompton Ross was arrested on suspicion of his being one of the bank robbers. He was examined, and his clothes were searched and quite a quantity of greenbacks were found, a part of which was his own money, and the rest Maxwell's money. He was discharged, however, as nothing could be proved against him, and he went on his way rejoicing, probably. It was not known to the parties who were instrumental in having him arrested that he had run away from here with funds which did not belong to him. Maxwell is mourning for the loss of his hard-earned wages, a place for which he had prepared before pay-day, but the prospect of his ever seeing the money again looks dark and gloomy. Ross is undoubtedly enjoying himself and thinking that he has done a very smart trick.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 23, 1875, p. 3)

On July 10, Saturday, the outside employes of the D. & H. C. Co. were paid off, on July 14, Wednesday, the miners were paid.

"The outside employes of the D. & H. C. Co. were paid off on Saturday, and the miners on Wednesday. Money was flush for one day." (*Carbondale Leader*, July 17, 1875, p. 3)

On August 13 and 14, 1875, the D&H miners received their monthly pay.

“The monthly pay-day of the miners took place on Friday and Saturday of last week. The amount distributed was large, the majority of the miners having made full time during the month of July. The large amount which was paid out made business brisk for three or four days, and the saloons were patronized liberally, as they always are after pay-day. A good share of the money which is now monthly scattered by the D. & H. C. Co. either finds its way into the savings-banks or goes to pay old debts; the rest for the monthly expenses of the families of the miners. Notwithstanding that work has been so steady this season, business appears to be about the same as it was last year.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 21, 1875, p. 3)

In the November 6, 1875 issue of the *Carbondale Leader* it was announced that the D. & H. C. Co. had reduced the wages of its railroad employees to one dollar per day.

“It is said that the D. & H. C. Co. has reduced the wages of its railroad employees to one dollar per day. This is very low wages for men who labor as hard and as many hours a day as they are compelled to labor, and they will need to practice economy this fall and winter or they will run behind.” (*Carbondale Leader*, November 6, 1875, p. 3)

On April 14 and 15, 1876, the D. & H. C. Co. paid off its miners and there were more drunken persons on the streets on the two last nights of the week than has been seen at any one time, perhaps, during the past year. Fights were of frequent occurrence, and many disgraceful and disorderly scenes were witnessed. In the *Carbondale Leader* of April 22, 1876, we read:

On Friday and Saturday of last week the D. & H. C. Co. paid off its miners. The amount paid out was greater than at any time in several months. There were more drunken persons on the streets on the two last nights of the week than has been seen at any one time, perhaps, during the past year. They seemed to feel as though their money was to last a long time, but it has doubtless ere this nearly all departed from them. Fights were of frequent occurrence, and many disgraceful and disorderly scenes were witnessed. It seems to be impossible for a large number of the rough element to get a dollar without getting drunk as soon as they can after it is paid them, and to have a longing desire to break the peace just so soon as they become sufficiently stimulated. These persons are never brave except when partially intoxicated with the poorest and most poisonous kinds of liquor; and, when they are thus intoxicated, they have a factitious boldness, which is as unnatural to them as it is contemptible. Then somebody's head must be split open, or some property must be destroyed. A row must follow, or there is no fun for them in spending their money foolishly and getting wild on poison. From saloon to saloon, and from bar-room to bar-room they tramp, imbibing at every place they visit; and after they have guzzled for an hour or two their brutal instincts display themselves, and somebody is assaulted or perhaps killed. Nothing so serious as the latter crime, we are glad to report, occurred last week, but there was altogether too much drunkenness, too many rows, and too much noise.” (*Carbondale Leader*, April 22, 1876, p. 3)

In mid-September 1876, D&H Paymaster Atherton distributed a quarter of a million dollars to the employees of the D. & H. C. Co.

Paymaster Atherton has just distributed over \$250,000 among the employees of the D. & H. C. Co.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 16, 1876, p. 3)

In mid-September 1876, work was going on well in the mines, in the shops, and on the railroads. A cheerful mood prevailed.

“Work in the mines, in the shops, and on the railroads here, is now going on very well. The countenances of all our people are more cheerful. No. 3 shaft is yet idle.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 16, 1876, p. 3)

On September 11, 1876, the D&H employees in the shops and on the railroads were paid for their work done in August (when they worked for about two-thirds of the time).

“The D. & H. C. Co.’s shop and railroad employes were paid on Monday for work done in the month of August. The men worked for about two-thirds of the time last month.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 16, 1876, p. 3)

On October 10, 1876, the D&H employees in the shops and on the railroads were paid for their work done in September (when they worked full time) and their pay was consequently the largest which they have received in several months.

"The Company's shop men and railroad employes were paid on Tuesday. They made a full month in September, and the pay was consequently the largest which they have received in several months." (*Carbondale Leader*, October 14, 1876, p.3)

From an article in the December 9, 1876 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, we learn that the wages of the trackmen in the employ of the D. & H. C. Co. have been reduced from one dollar to ninety cents per day.

“The trackmen in the employ of the D. & H. C. Co. have been forced to a reduction of their wages from one dollar to ninety cents per day. Are these living wages, we should like to know?” (*Carbondale Leader*, December 9, 1876, p. 3)

The wages of the employees in the D&H shops in Carbondale were also reduced in early December 1876. "The prospect for the mechanic and laborer," said the *Carbondale Leader* on December 9, 1876, "is not bright."

“The employes in the shops of the D. & H. C. Co. in this city have been cut down in wages and time until they earn barely enough to buy the necessities of life for themselves and families. The

majority of them will have to practice rigid economy this winter in order to live within their means. The prospect for the mechanic and laborer is not bright.” (*Carbondale Leader*, December 9, 1876, p. 3)

In early January 1877, half time was the order of the day in the D. & H. C. Co.’s mines in Carbondale and the surrounding area.

“Half time is now the order of the day in the D. & H. C. Co.’s mines in this vicinity. All the mines, we believe, are now in operation on half-time. As stated in these columns last week the men at the Lackawanna mines were permitted to try to make full time for three or four days during the last of the month. It was not supposed that this order of things would continue very long, and it did not. If the men were assured that they will be allowed to work steadily all winter even on half time, they will be enabled to prepare to govern themselves accordingly, and will know how to manage their personal matters during that time. But, as we have frequently remarked before, there is not the least certainty as to how long they will be given a chance to work on half time. There is a liability that a suspension, brief though it may be, will occur at a day’s notice, and that all the works will be stopped without any note of warning. There have been so many of these within the past year or two that it is utterly futile to predict what course these mining concerns will take in the future, or how much or how little work they will give the men who rely on working in the mines for their and their families’ daily bread. We hope that the laboring men may be kept constantly employed throughout the winter, that they may receive good wages, and that thereby they may be able to keep themselves and their families from want and starvation.” (*Carbondale Leader*, January 6, 1877, p. 3)

A metric ton is the equivalent of 1,000 kilograms or 2,204.6 pounds. In an astonishing move, on February 1, 1877, the D. & H. C. Co. re-defined the ton as being the equivalent of 2,800 pounds. Previous to that date, the D. & H. C. Co. had already re-defined the ton as being the equivalent of 2,500 pounds. Not surprisingly, the miners of Carbondale held a meeting at the City Hall for the purpose of discussing that re-definition of a ton, which is equal to a fifteen per cent reduction in wages. In the February 3, 1877 issue of the *Carbondale Leader* we read:

"An order requiring the miners to furnish 2,800 pounds of coal for a ton went into effect in the mines of the D. & H. C. Co. on Thursday. Heretofore they have been compelled to send out 2,500 pounds for a ton. The miners of Carbondale held a meeting at the City Hall on Tuesday evening for the purpose of discussing the reduction, as it may be called. There was, of course, as there should be, a strong feeling against this latest move of the grinding monopoly, and several practical miners made remarks to the purpose. We believe that no definite course was laid out except to continue work. It is equal to fifteen per cent, reduction in wages. The monopoly has cut

down wages in other ways until it was ashamed of itself, if that is a possible thing, and now it has taken this underhanded and blind way of still further trying to crush the already impoverished miners and laborers.” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 3, 1877, p. 3)

In the notice from the *Carbondale Leader* given immediately above, the *Leader* referred to this latest re-definition of a ton (to be the equivalent of 2,800 pounds) by the D&H as the "latest move of the grinding monopoly . . . to crush the already impoverished miners and laborers."

In defense of the D&H, it must be said that the D&H was not trying "to crush the already impoverished miners and laborers" when it redefined the weight requirement for a metric ton to be 2,800 pounds. Rather, the D&H, in a heavy-handed, unpalatable and ill-advised manner, to be sure, was, it can be argued, making an effort to remain a profitable company during an extremely difficult financial period.

The wages of the laboring men in the coal region were now so low, said the *Carbondale Leader* in its issue of February 24, 1877, that the men can scarcely live and support their families:

“The condition of the laboring men in this section is not what it ought to be. Their wages have been reduced from time to time until they are now so low that they can scarcely live and support their families. The D. & H. C. Co. may not think of reducing the wages any lower,—we hope it does not—but some of the laborers seem to think and fear that it does. If it does intend to do this, it should abandon that intention at once. Lower wages means starvation, for the men cannot get trusted for goods in many of our stores, simply because the merchants are under heavy expenses, and having so many accounts already on their books, they cannot trust any more. The merchants have carried many families from month to month and have lost money by the transaction. Those whom they have trusted are mostly unable to pay, and cannot pay hereafter unless they are given fair wages and steady work. Therefore, let the company, instead of making a further reduction in the wages of its faithful employes, raise their wages to a living rate. When the wages of a common laborer are down to one dollar a day, it is no time to talk about reducing them further.” (*Carbondale Leader*, February 24, 1877, p. 3)

To make it possible for the laboring men to live and support their families, the *Carbondale Leader*, in the notice given immediately above, said that the D&H should "raise the wages [of the laboring men] to a living rate." Again, in defense of the D&H, the company, with a long history of paying its employees fairly, was giving its best at the time to remain a profitable company. If the company could have raised at that time the wages of the laboring men and, at the same time, fulfilled its obligations to the D&H stockholders, it would surely have done so.

In late March 1877, the shopmen's wages and those of the railroad men were reduced 12 ½ percent. The *Carbondale Leader* saw this reduction as a conscious effort on the part of the D&H and its president, Thomas Dickson, to crush and grind the workingman until he is hardly able to support himself and his family. "Such an utter disregard for the welfare of the laboring men," said the *Carbondale Leader*, "cannot be allowed to go much farther."

"The shopmen's wages have been reduced twelve and one-half per cent, and the railroad ones have received a like reduction. Thus the monopoly, with Tom Dickson as the power behind the throne, crushes and grinds the working-man until he is hardly able to support himself, to say nothing of his wife and children who are depending on him. Such an utter disregard for the welfare of the laboring men cannot be allowed to go much farther. There is no excuse for the last reduction, and the monopoly knows it." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 24, 1877, p. 3)

The wages of the employees in the D. & H. C. Co.'s offices in Carbondale were also reduced at this time.

"Great havoc has lately been raised among certain of the employes in the D. & H. C. Co.'s offices in this city. Their wages have been reduced, and a few changes have been made. It is now an open secret that one of the employes, who has held quite a responsible position for six or seven years past, where large sums of money passed through his hands, has had his wages greatly reduced, and been deprived of the right of handling any more of the company's money, although he is yet retained in its employ. Why the company took so much responsibility from this servant's shoulders is its own business, of course; and we venture to say that it had the best of reasons for doing so or it would not have humiliated this employe while retaining him. Perhaps the company took this way of 'letting him down' easy and preparing the way to dispense with his services altogether before long." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 31, 1877, p. 3)

The reduction in wages was an across the board reality for all in the D. & H. C. Co.'s employ, including those who earn their wages by keeping books and looking after accounts, overseers, 'bosses,' etc., as well as watchmen and all others. The order of the day was this: Submit to a reduction or seek employment elsewhere.

"The reduction of wages has extended not only to the miners, mechanics, railroad men and laborers in the D. & H. C. Co.'s employ, but it has now reached all the men who have easier positions. Men who earn their wages by keeping books and looking after accounts, overseers, 'bosses,' etc., as well as watchmen and all others have been obliged either to submit to a reduction or to seek employment elsewhere. As the prospect of getting employment elsewhere is not very bright just at present, they have all kept their places and submitted gracefully to the reduction." (*Carbondale Leader*, March 31, 1877, p. 3)

On May 8, 1877, at the annual meeting of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company that was held in the D&H New York office on Cortland Street, Thomas Dickson received and answered questions about the company from a one Mr. Olmstead. Given the fact that Thomas Dickson answered quickly and easily from memory all of Olmstead's questions led the *Carbondale Leader* to believe that the question and answer session was rehearsed. Here is the account of that meeting from the *Carbondale Leader* of May 19, 1877:

“THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON MEETING. / Thomas Dickson, of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, must have felt very proud indeed when the New York papers published the little colloquy between himself a few of his company cronies, which took place at their Cortland street palace on Tuesday of last week. Thomas Dickson little thought that the public would look upon his dialogue as one that had been, previous to its recital in public, committed to memory by himself and his theatrical associates, and repeatedly rehearsed by them before they rendered it in the presence of the members of the press and of the few shareholders who attended the annual meeting. Yet that is precisely the way that the public looks upon it. Olmstead had doubtless been detailed to commit the questions to memory which were to be flung unceremoniously and promiscuously at Dickson as he sat in the Presidential seat. Dickson was as cool as piece of ice, as collected as a package of butter, and as unconcerned as to what questions were propounded to him as were any of the auditors. There he sat while Olmstead threw question after question at him and answered them glibly, as readily, and as nicely as we have known students to do in school when they were translating Latin and had an open ‘pony’ underneath the desk in front of them. But Dickson did even better than this. He answered from memory in every instance. No sooner had a superlatively difficult question struck the tympan of his official ear than he promptly gabbled out an answer which was intended to be taken by the public as an impromptu answer to a random question. In fact, Dickson was altogether too prompt in his replies, as everybody who has read a full report of the questions and answers, and who takes an interest in what this officer is doing, will readily admit. Not once did Dickson flinch or flounder or hesitate; and his direct examination, cross examination, and re-direct examination were as perfect exercises as we have read in many a day. To those who neither know nor care anything about this man Dickson nor of the company which he ‘runs,’ the report would sound like an offhand practice of answer and reply between two men concerned in the same company; but, to those who can read between the lines, so to speak, and who know something of the past management, especially of the more recent management, of the D. & H. C. Co., as well as of the man who is at the head of it, the report of the colloquy has no such sound. We have not a particle of doubt that each actor knew precisely what he was going to say before he went upon the stage or into the meeting. The company’s stock had been falling in the market for months. It had fallen in one year from 122 to less than 50, and it was absolutely necessary and essential, for the good of the concern, that some means that would appear to be very honest and innocent and business-like should be resorted to to allay the public’s distrust in the monopoly. The annual meeting was near at hand, and it is to be presumed that the managers, with Dickson as their chief, thought up this matter of question and answer as being the most effective one to employ for that purpose,

and so Olmstead, when he had opened his mouth, remarked: 'I have a few questions to ask, and I hope they will cover the ground.' Then he commenced, and Dickson, as we said before, rattled off his replies, automaton-like to the great delight and satisfaction of his cronies, who may be presumed to have smiled almost audibly as he did so. When Olmstead had finished, some one else, in order to make the proceeding appear to be impromptu, flung a few simple interrogatories at Dickson, and that great functionary responded to these also quite as glibly as before. Dickson must have felt in excellent spirits after this, and he must have strutted about as proud as a peacock when he found that his stockholders—the big ones, not the small ones—placed such implicit confidence in his management. But notwithstanding all this, the public has no faith yet in the concern, and we believe we but express the opinion of a majority of people when we say that it never will have so long as it is managed by the present director. Since the little colloquy which was intended to be so effectual, the stock of the concern has fallen from 48 to less than 40, and the prospect now is, as we remarked several weeks ago, that it will go down to 20, and that Dickson's answers will never make it go up again." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 19, 1877, p. 2)

At the end of May, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* launched a salary inquiry/attack on the officers and officials of the D&H: Thomas Dickson is paid \$25,000 annually, Manville is paid \$3,000 annually.

"Dickson says that while he himself receives a salary of \$25,000 annually, Manville gets only \$3,000. We used to suppose, when we saw Manville around anywheres [sic], that he drew at least \$20,000 salary, and we are sorry to hear that he gets only \$3,000, for we think his services are worth more than that amount." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 26, 1877, p. 3)

In its issue of May 26, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* noted that Thomas Dickson's salary was just as large as ever and that it was not cut when the salaries of the miners and the others who "do the hard work" of the company were cut. "Dickson lives in luxury," said the *Leader*, "while the men who make the money on which he lives are compelled to live in almost abject poverty."

"The D. & H. C. Co. can pay its officers just as large salaries as ever, but it is *too poor* to pay the miners and other employes who do the hard work enough to afford them a comfortable living. That the company is comparatively poor there can be no doubt, but why did it not reduce the salaries of Dickson and some of the other officers at the same time that it cut down the wages of the shopmen, railroad men, miners, and laborers? \$1,000 a month would be large wages for Dickson, but he receives twice that sum. Dickson lives in luxury while the men who make the money on which he lives are compelled to live in almost abject poverty." (*Carbondale Leader*, May 26, 1877, p. 3)

In its issue of June 2, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* expressed the opinion that "If there was any consistency in the management of this concern [the D&H] the directors would long ago have cut down the wages of Dickson and the rest, but there is no consistency in its composition, and there is no heart in the monopoly."

"The D. & H. C. Co. has cut down, from time to time, the wages of its best employes, to wit, the mechanics, the railroad men, the miners, the laborers, and the faithful workmen from one end of its possessions to the other, until many of them now receive scarcely enough to support themselves and families, while Tom Dickson draws his \$25,000 a year as he formerly did. And then he talks about poverty whenever the miners ask for justice, or at the least his spokesmen do, which is all the same. If there was any consistency in the management of this concern the directors would long ago have cut down the wages of Dickson and the rest, but there is no consistency in its composition, and there is no heart in the monopoly." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 2, 1877, p. 3)

Also in its June 2, 1877 issue, the *Carbondale Leader* noted that Thomas Dickson's salary was two and one-half times that of D&H General Manager, Coe. F. Young, and yet, said the *Leader*, "Dickson's services are worth not a cent more than Young's are, and probably not as much."

"General Manager Coe F. Young, of the D. & H. C. Co., gets \$10,000 a year, which is a nice little salary, but Tom Dickson receives two and one-half times as much. Dickson's services are worth not a cent more than Young's are, and probably not as much." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 2, 1877, p. 3)

Also in its June 2, 1877 issue, the *Carbondale Leader* expressed the belief that since the D&H has lowered the wages of the miners and "the men who do the really hard work to the lowest possible standard" that Thomas Dickson's salary should cut to \$12,000 a year:

"The D. & H. C. Co. ought to cut down Tom Dickson's salary to at least \$12,000 a year. It has cut down the wages of the men who do the really hard work to the lowest possible standard." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 2, 1877, p. 3)

Also in its June 2, 1877 issue, the *Carbondale Leader* expressed the belief that the \$10,000 a year that is paid to Albright, the sales agent of the D. & H. C. Co. "is a big salary for the ability that is required in the position." The *Leader* further noted that "The miners get a dollar and half per day, and that is a small salary for the services they render."

“Albright, of Scranton, the sales agent of the D. & H. C. Co., draws \$10,000 a year. That is a big salary for the ability that is required in the position. The miners get a dollar and half per day, and that is a small salary for the services they render.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 2, 1877, p. 3)

Finally, in its issue of June 2, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* expressed the belief that the Assistant President of the D. & H. C. Co. receives "\$10,000 a year, yet he is doubtless worth quite as much to the company as Dickson is who receives \$25,000."

“The Assistant President of the D. & H. C. Co. receives \$10,000 a year, yet he is doubtless worth quite as much to the company as Dickson is who receives \$25,000. Railroad men get less than a dollar per day.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 2, 1877, p. 3)

In its issue of June 16, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* noted that "while the D. & H. C. Co. grows poorer, the officers grow richer and richer."

“It has been said that, while the D. & H. C. Co. grows poorer, the officers grow richer and richer. There may be a great deal of truth in this, but we think the officers make much less money than they used to make even though their salaries remain the same. One thing is certain: the little colloquy which Dickson and Olmstead held last month failed to keep the stock up.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 16, 1877, p. 3)

In its issue of June 16, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* expressed that belief that the value of D&H stock has fallen from above 120 to less than 30 in the past year is because "There is no public confidence in the management."

“It is too bad that the little dialogue which was recited in the Delaware & Hudson’s palace in New York a few weeks ago has not produced the effect which it was doubtless intended to produce. The stock, instead of going up as the managers evidently thought and hoped it would, has gradually declined in the market ever since. The stock which was above 120 a little more than a year ago is now less than 30. There is no public confidence in the management. What little there was has grown beautifully less since a few of the stockholders went through the comedy of praising the management to such an unlimited extent. The great public doesn’t swallow such doses as readily as the directors undoubtedly hoped and expected it would.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 16, 1877, p. 3)

Also in its issue of June 16, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* expressed its belief that "[Thomas] Dickson's salary would be quite large enough at \$10 a day instead of \$80."

"Counting 312 working days in a year, Tom Dickson gets \$80 a day for ever day he labors for the monopoly, or eight dollars an hour, counting ten hours a day. And yet, while the wages of all the workingmen are reduced to the very lowest possible point, Dickson draws his big salary of \$25,000 a year. It matters not to Dickson how hard the times are as far as his salary is concerned, but it may matter much to him in other respects which the reader can bring to his mind at once. If the wages of Dickson and all the other officials had been cut down in the same proportion as the wages of the laborers have been cut down, the managers would have shown the public that they really meant to retrench and to practice rigid economy in every possible way. But they don't mean anything of the kind. They mean to cripple the workingmen while they themselves draw just as large salaries as ever. If there is consistency in this we fail to see it. Most people would say, and the majority of business men would say, that Dickson's salary would be quite large enough at \$10 a day instead of \$80." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 16, 1877, p. 3)

In its issue of June 16, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* published an article on D&H salaries that was written "by a Scranton gentleman: and published in the *New York Tribune*." The tone of the letter leads one to believe that the letter "by a Scranton gentleman" may have originated in the editorial office of the *Carbondale Leader*. Whatever the case, here is that letter:

"DELAWARE AND HUDSON SALARIES. / The following article was written by a Scranton gentleman and published in the *New York Tribune*: / In common with others of your numerous readers who are more or less interested in the present condition and future prospects of the large coal operations, I have read in your columns the very interesting report on the recent annual meeting and proceedings of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company's stockholders. The marvelous unanimity that pervaded that body was quite refreshing, and the report, more especially that part referring to the salary question, was a model of simplicity. To those stockholders who depend for their living on their dividends (but don't get them), it must have been truly gratifying to think that the chief managers had managed so well by judicious reductions of their inferiors' salaries as to escape the general devastation, and that their miserably small salaries, ranging from \$80 to \$20 per day, had still been paid with regularity, and that the cruel report which obtained currency in the local press a few months ago that all the salaries from the President downward had been reduced was a false and malicious slander. / The great body of the stockholders doubtless realize the justice which led to the cutting down of the wages of the workingmen, whose pay amounted in many instances to the exorbitant sum of \$1, or perhaps to even \$1.25 a day. They saw the value of such treatment of the workingman as tending to increase their intellectual capabilities, as it certainly must require considerable

knowledge to cipher out such a problem as the following (and I assure you a great many have been engaged in just such problems): / If, when I had steady work and was getting \$1.50 a day, with flour at \$8.50 a barrel and potatoes at \$1 a bushel, I could just manage to keep my family in food and had nothing to spare for decent clothes, how long will it take with quarter time or less, wages at 90 cents, flour at \$13, and potatoes at \$2 a bushel to starve? / There is something grand and cheering in contemplating the list of names and the salaries attached; to think of the steadfast manner in which they have adhered to their posts, and drawn their salaries in full with heroic firmness, towering as it were ‘o’er the wreck of the times,’ while the staff of men under them has been reduced by suspensions and discharges (some of them after years of faithful service, at a moment’s notice), even if an occasional exception may have occurred (exceptions, it is said, prove the rule) where a salary has been paid after the recipient had ceased to work for it. But then blood is thicker than water. The dignity of the company must be sustained, and if one does hear an occasional growl and a curse about ‘that twenty-five thousand dollar a year span,’ as a dashing carriage and pair, with driver, sweeps past, that only goes to show the unbalanced condition of some people’s minds, caused possibly by an empty pocket and an equally empty cupboard. The unanimous vote of confidence by the stockholders settled all that, and the general public show their verdict by the recent hopeful (!) condition of the company’s stock.” (*Carbondale Leader*, June 16, 1877, p. 2)

In its issue of June 23, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* launched its attack on Thomas Dickson's father, James Dickson, who worked formerly for the D&H but is now retired.

“DOES UNCLE JIMMY GET \$150 A MONTH? / We have known for years that Uncle Jimmy Dickson, the father of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company [president], was supposed to draw a pretty nice little salary every month. This has been the general belief as we have known all along, but we have said nothing about it because we had not the proof. We have no proof of it now, except the assertion of a Carbondale writer in a Scranton Sunday paper, who says that Uncle Jimmy draws \$150 per month. It is the general opinion hereabout that Uncle Jimmy, ever since his retirement from active service as an employe of the monopoly, has regularly drawn his pension every month. Whether that pension is \$150 per month, or \$100, or \$75, or \$50, is more than we can say with any degree of accuracy from our own knowledge; but we do say that there would seem to be a chance for believing, from the fact that so much is said about it, that Uncle Jimmy receives a certain amount of pension money every month. Why he should be entitled to receive a pension from a company which, while he was in its employ, paid him all the money he earned, does not plainly appear. If the same policy should be applied to all the men who have hitherto worked for the D. & H. C. Co., but who are now old and unable to work, the mammoth concern would be nearer bankruptcy than it now is, if that is a possible thing. If Uncle Jimmy really draws \$150 a month for doing nothing, what amount of wages must he have received when he did something? This is a problem for some of the company’s

mathematicians to solve. If it is worth \$150 a month to look at a rope-barn, how much is it worth for a man to walk around the shops for two hours a day with his hands in his pockets. Some of the company's eminent mathematicians might rack their brains in the solution of this latter problem, and if they can give us the correct answer to either or to both of them, we shall gladly publish it. They may solve either of them by arithmetic or by algebra, whichever they choose. If it is true that Uncle Jimmy receives \$150 or any other amount a month, it only goes to show that there have been and are now altogether too many leaks in the monopoly to make it perfectly prosperous." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 23, 1877, p. 2)

In its issue of June 23, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* noted that Thomas Dickson is paid \$80 a day and that the D&H track men get only eighty-five or ninety cents per day, and the night watchmen get less than one dollar per night.

"Eighty dollars a day is a pretty large salary for even so noted a financier as President Dickson, of the D. & H. C. Co. It is nearly seventeen times as much as his aged father is commonly supposed to receive. The track men get only eighty-five or ninety cents per day, and the night watchmen get less than one dollar per night; and yet they earn more money than Uncle Jimmy earns, although they receive six or seven times less than he is said to receive. There is quite as large an amount of consistency in these matters as there is in some other matters connected with the monopoly." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 23, 1877, p. 3)

"Even if Thomas Dickson were paid \$1,000 a month," said the *Carbondale Leader* in its issue of June 23, 1877, "he would be getting more than his services are counted by the majority of men to be worth."

"If Tom Dickson should receive \$1,000 a month instead of more than twice that amount, he would be getting more than his services are counted by the majority of men to be worth. If the wages of the mechanics, miners, railroad men, and other employes should be raised to a living rate, they would be able to support their families decently, while they would be getting no more than their services are really worth." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 23, 1877, p. 3)

In its issue of August 4, 1877, the *Carbondale Leader* expressed its belief that the D&H could save a lot of money "by cutting the salaries of the big officials who are getting more than their services are really worth."

"Let the managers of the D. & H. C. Co. reduce the wages of President Dickson, Superintendent Young, and the rest of the officials who are now drawing exactly as large salaries as they ever

drew, or else let them raise the wages of the large army of miners, mechanics, railroad men, and others who have lately been forced to live on very small wages. If the company is in such an embarrassed financial condition as it is supposed to be it might save a snug little amount by cutting the salaries of the big officials who are getting more than their services are really worth.” (*Carbondale Leader*, August 4, 1877, p.3)

The D&H miners in Carbondale were paid on December 13, 1877 for their work in November. The salaries paid were higher than on most pay days during the past year.

“The Pay Car was here on Thursday [December 13], and our miners received their pay for the coal put out in November. Although the amount received was small compared with that in the good times years ago, it is much larger than that of most pays during the past year.” (*Carbondale Advance*, December 15, 1877, p. 3)

Following the resolution of the strike of July 28, 1877—October 18, 1877, the D. & H. C. Co., in a demonstration of good faith, paid promptly (two weeks ahead of schedule) its shopmen, miners, railroad men, and other employees for the work with they did in October 1877. The positive consequences of this humanitarian act were widespread in the community.

"The D. & H. C. Co. is to be commended for its promptness in paying its shopmen, miners, railroad men, and other employees for the work with they did in October. All the men had been idle for nearly three months, having done no work from July 28 to October 18, and the wages they earned in October, although not quite half a month had been worked, were paid to them on Saturday, November 3. The amount which they received was comparatively small, yet it came as a godsend to them. Many families were entirely out of funds when pay-day came, and many of them were greatly in need of the real necessities of life, and therefore the company did a charitable thing when it paid so soon after the first of the month, instead of waiting until the 14th or 15th, as is customary when work goes along regularly. The money was used judiciously and expended only for that which the workingmen and their families were really in need of. It made certain classes of business pretty brisk for a day or two, and enlivened many a home. There was very little drunkenness for a pay-day, and the men lost no time as they usually do on pay-days. The amount of money disbursed was of course not large, but it had a perceptible effect on the business of Carbondale, nevertheless.” (*Carbondale Leader*, November 10, 1877, p. 3)

On Monday, December 1, 1879, the wages of the D&H miners, among others, were raised ten percent.

"Advance in Miners' Wages. / On Monday morning, Dec. 1st, there was an advance made of 10 per cent, in the wages of miners in the employ of the leading coal companies, including Del. & Hud., D. L. & W., Penn'a. Coal Co., &c." (*Carbondale Advance*, December 6, 1879, p. 3)

On Saturday, April 10, 1880, at 10 A. M., a meeting of the miners of the D. & H. C. Co. was held at McGarry's Hall in Hyde Park, to consider the question of an advance of wages. A strike was not intended, but the meeting was held in order to inaugurate an organized effort to secure an advance by persuasive measures. In announcing the meeting, the *Carbondale Leader*, in a remarkable about face from its position in 1877 on the question of D&H management, said: "So far as we have observed, the practice of the company [the D&H] has been to treat their employes justly, and to regulate wages in accordance with their ability to pay. When the affairs of the company were prosperous the men shared in the good fortune; and when, as in late years, coal has been mined at a loss, the men, to their honor be it said, have quietly submitted to the low wages and partial time which has been inevitable." Here is the announcement of the meeting in Hyde Park on April 10, 1880, that was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of April 10, 1880:

"MINERS WAGES. / A call has been issued for a convention of the miners of the D. & H. C. Co., to be held at McGarry's Hall in Hyde Park, Saturday, April 10, at 10 o'clock A. M., to consider the question of an advance of wages. It is given out that a strike is not intended, but that the meeting is to be held in order to inaugurate an organized effort to secure an advance by persuasive measures. This is all very well and will not be objected to by any one. There is a general feeling that the wages ought to be raised. So far as the company is concerned we doubt not the managers will admit that the needs of the miners for more pay are very urgent. We have all along believed, and do now believe, that, at the very earliest moment practicable, the company will of its own motion give to the subject the consideration it deserves, and will promptly act upon it to the utmost extent that the circumstances will permit. So far as we have observed, the practice of the company has been to treat their employes justly, and to regulate wages in accordance with their ability to pay. When the affairs of the company were prosperous the men shared in the good fortune; and when, as in late years, coal has been mined at a loss, the men, to their honor be it said, have quietly submitted to the low wages and partial time which has been inevitable." (*Carbondale Leader*, April 10, 1880, p. 3)

The D&H employees in Honesdale who received ninety cents a day, now get one dollar, and they want twenty-five cents more per day, but the company will not pay that amount. That we know from an article that was published in *The Critic* of April 17, 1880:

"The Delaware and Hudson Company's employees at Honesdale are not at all satisfied with the amount of increase in their wages. Those who received ninety cents a day, now get one dollar, and they want twenty-five cents more per day, but the company will not pay that amount. This does not agree with the statement which the Wall street 'sage' made last week. Let the 'sage' go over there and investigate the matter. If he is meek and humble, and applies at the proper place, he can probably get a 'pass' to Honesdale and return. The investigation would not cost him much else but his valuable time." (*The Critic*, April 17, 1880, p. 3)

In mid-June 1880, a Gravity Railroad employee, when he called for his pay, was informed that a claim for one month's board had been filed against him and that payment for that amount had been stopped. The question went before two Aldermen: Kinback and Stuart.

"On the last pay day, a train hand on the Gravity RR, when he called for his pay, was informed that a claim for one month's board had been filed, and payment for that amount stopped. He demurred, claiming that he had an offset for services he had rendered in the case of sick children. A suit was promptly commenced by one of the parties before Alderman Kinback, and by the other before Alderman Stuart. The matter will probably be taken to court, and the questions of stopping money for board, and of recovering pay for services rendered in sickness where one is boarding, be settled." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 19, 1880, p. 3)

In November 1880, gold was very plentiful in business circles in Carbondale, and at the October D&H pay, about \$11,000 in gold was paid out by the D&H company at the upper mines, and railroad and machine shop men were recently paid wholly in gold and silver.

"Specie Payments. / Gold is becoming very plentiful in business circles here, even more so than greenbacks. At the October pay, about \$11,000 in Gold were paid out by the company at the upper mines, and we learn that railroad and machine shop men have been this week paid wholly in gold and silver. Who shall say that our currency is not sound, when gold, silver and paper are alike fully at par, and interchangeable." (*Carbondale Advance*, November 13, 1880, p. 3)

For the July 1881 payroll, the D. & H. C. Co. disbursed, along the line of the railroad in Pennsylvania and in the mines no less than \$450,000.

"The Delaware & Hudson Company have disbursed, along their lines of railroad in this State, and in the mines, the handsome sum of \$450,000 for the July pay-roll." (*Carbondale Leader*, August 19, 1881, p. 4)

In early September 1880, over \$30,000 was paid in salaries by the D&H for work done in the mines in Carbondale during August 1881:

“At our last pay day the paymaster paid out over \$30,000 for work done in the mines here the past month. Full time is also enjoyed the present month, and it is believed will be also for October.” (*Carbondale Advance*, September 10, 1881, p. 3)

In January 1882, Paymaster Atherton of the D&H paid out over \$600,000 for work performed in December 1881; over \$5,000,000 for the year. In making that announcement, the *Carbondale Advance* noted: "The great bulk of this vast amount of money was paid for labor in our valley, and is the basis of its prosperity."

"Magnitude of the Coal Business / The great importance, and immense magnitude of the anthracite coal business in our valley, appears when we read the statements of business made by a single company. / We have in the Lackawanna Valley, which is an arm or branch of the Wyoming Valley, three large coal shipping companies--the Del. & Hud. C. Co., the oldest, the Del. Lack. & Western, now having a little the most tonnage, and the Pennsylvania Coal Company. The accounts of Paymaster Atherton, of the Del. & Hud. C. Co., recently published show that for the month of December his disbursements were over \$600,000, and for the year over \$5,000,000. The great bulk of this vast amount of money, was paid for labor in our valley, and is the basis of its prosperity." (*Carbondale Advance*, February 4, 1882, p. 3)

On idle days during the second week of February 1882, Paymaster Atherton paid the miners. During the week beginning February 13, the railroad and shop hands of the D. & H. C. Co. were paid.

"The railroad and shop hands of the D. & H. C. Co., will not be paid until the first of next week. Paymaster Atherton is paying the miners during the idle days of this week." (*Carbondale Leader*, February 10, 1882, p. 4)

On September 10, 1883, Paymaster Atherton paid the D&H hands in the railroad Shops; on September 12, he paid the men who worked on the Gravity Railroad between Carbondale and Honesdale.

“Paymaster Atherton paid the shop hands on Monday and the gravity men between Carbondale and Honesdale on Wednesday. There was more money paid out on the gravity this month than for several months previous.” (*Carbondale Leader*, September 14, 1883, p. 3)

In February 1884, the majority of the men who worked on the Gravity Railroad only worked twelve days, each earning \$18.60.

“The majority of the men employed on the gravity have only worked twelve days this month making a total of eighteen dollars and sixty cents; but, notwithstanding these discouraging prospects, the boys seemed to be resigned to the inevitable ‘what can’t be cured must be endured, etc.’ “ (*Carbondale Leader*, 02-29-1884, p. 2)

In the many thousands of hours of research over a 15-year period that we have carried out, the only reference we have ever seen to a D&H "time book" is in the *Gravity Notes* in the June 2, 1885 issue of the *Carbondale Leader*. Therein, we read:

"J. E. Ketchum now holds the time book at No. 8, and looks after the company's interest there." (*Carbondale Leader*, Gravity Notes, June 2, 1885, p. 1)

Was that Ketchum's only job there? Did he perform some other function as well? Did each plane have its own timekeeper? Throughout the D&H system, there must have been a network of timekeepers who submitted regular payroll reports to the payroll department.

On June 15, 1886, the D&H miners were paid; on Thursday, June 17, the men in the D&H shops were paid.

"The D. & H. shopmen were paid on Thursday and the miners on Tuesday. (*The Journal*, June 17, 1886, p. 3)

On the question of an employee retiring from age or disability, the managers of the D&H announced a policy on May 10, 1887. In *Century of Progress* (p. 290) we read:

“On May 10, 1887, the Managers were authorized, as if in anticipation of the present pension system, ‘to allow to any employee retired from age or disability’ such monthly compensation as might be ‘necessary,’ it being provided, however, that this pension should not be effective in any year in which the surplus was exhausted.”

In 1893, on the same question, we read the following in *Century of Progress* (p. 305):

“A resolution was adopted by the stockholders on May 9 of this panic year providing that on the retirement, either from age or disability, of any officer or employee who had long and faithfully performed his duties, the Managers might ‘allow such monthly compensation’ as they should deem proper. In cases of death or retirement, if satisfactory service has lasted not less than ten years, a sum not less than six months’ salary was authorized to be paid to the individual or his family. This resolution, however, was limited so that it should be [in]operative in any year when the company had no surplus.”

In October 1887, D&H Paymaster Atherton paid out for services and material for the D. & H about a million dollars.

“Paymaster Atherton says his payments this month for services and material for the D. & H amount to about a million dollars.” (*The Journal*, October 20, 1887, p. 3)

On December 12, 1887, the D. & H. railroad and shopmen were paid.

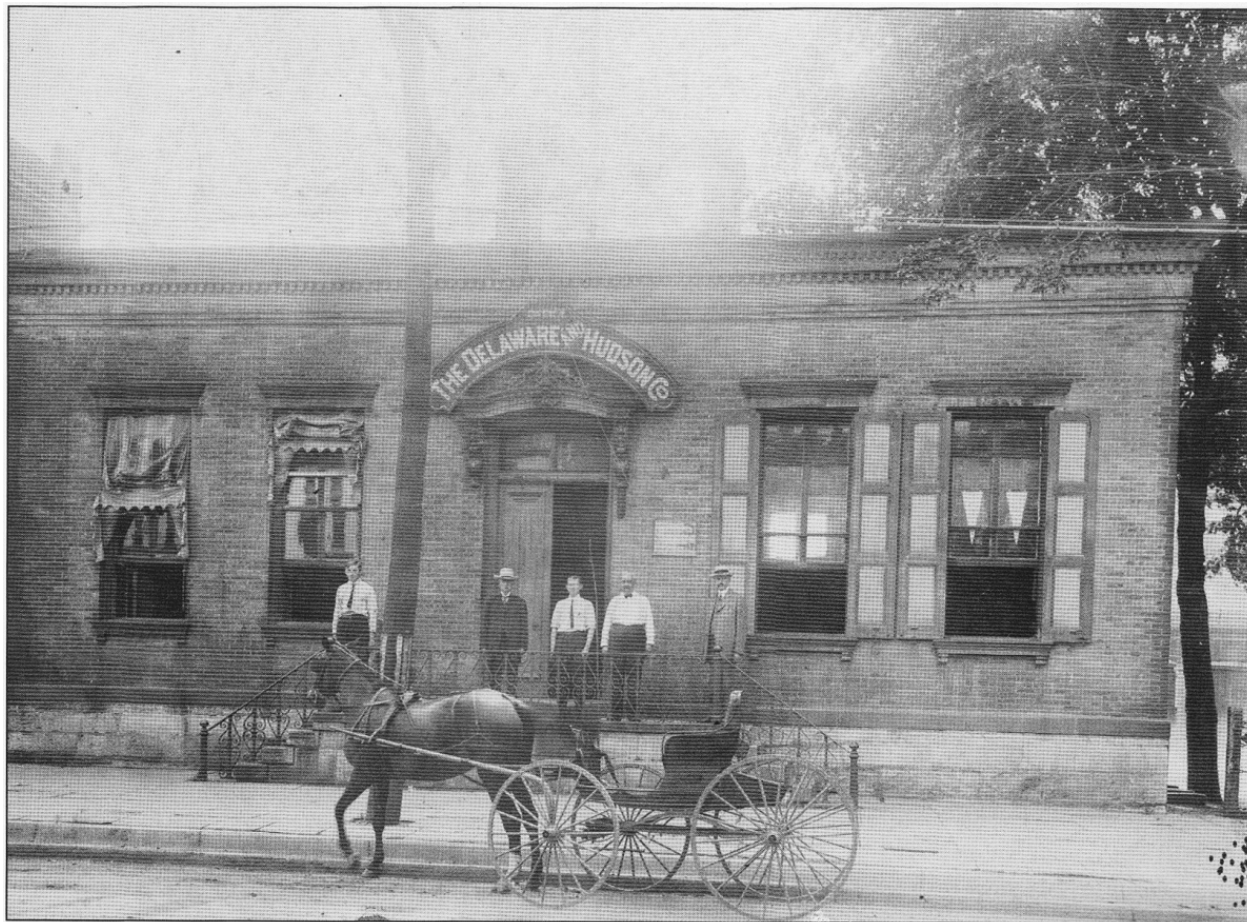
“The D. & H. railroad and shopmen were paid on Monday.” (*The Journal*, December 15, 1887, p. 3)

On January 14 and 16, 1888, Paymaster Atherton paid the miners in the employ of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company in Carbondale.

“Paymaster Atherton on Saturday and Monday paid the miners in the employ of the D. & H. C. Co. here.” (*The Journal*, January 19, 1888, p. 3)

The wages of about 150 D&H dock hands in Honesdale were increased by fifteen percent during the third week of January 1888. The D&H also agreed to pay over time at the rate of 25 cents for one hour, 30 cents for two hours, and 45 cents for three hours.

“The liberality of the D. & H. managers was again illustrated at Honesdale last week when they increased the wages of their dock hands there, about 150 in number, fifteen per cent. They also agree to pay for over time at the rate of 25 cents for one hour, 30 cents for two hours, and 45 cents for three hours.” (*The Journal*, January 26, 1888, p. 3)



The photo shown here is given on page 10 of *Honesdale*, in the *Images of America* series, by Kim Erickson, 2015, where it is identified as "paymaster's buggy. . used by Sol Ackerman of Rosendale New York."

On April 3, 1899, D&H Paymaster H. F. Atherton, having served as paymaster of the D&H for 35 years (1864-1899), died at his residence in Providence. Here is his obituary, which was published in the *Carbondale Leader* of April 4, 1899:

"DEATH OF H. F. ATHERTON. / For Thirty-five Years Paymaster of the D. & H. Company. / Henry F. Atherton, for thirty-five years paymaster of the Delaware & Hudson Canal company died yesterday morning at his residence in Providence after an illness of about four weeks. He was born in the state of Massachusetts in the year 1834 and went to Scranton in 1838. His first position was as clerk in the store of O. P. Clark on the west side, after which he served

in similar positions in Montrose and Honesdale. In 1864 he was appointed paymaster for the D. & H. company and held the position until his death, a period of thirty-five years during which many millions of dollars passed through his hands. He was for years a prominent member of the Providence Presbyterian church and acted as deacon and trustee at various times. He is survived by the widow and five children, Carrie and Anna, John R., and Thomas who were his assistants in the paymaster's office and Henry, who is now attending school. He is also survived by the following brothers and sisters: J. L. Atherton, superintendent Delaware & Hudson company; Mrs. T. H. B. Lewis, Wilkes-Barre; Mrs. Shearer, Blakely; B. B. Atherton, foreman Manville mine. / The funeral will be held from the residence on Thursday at 2 o'clock. Interment will be made in Dunmore cemetery. / Mr. Atherton was a man of very methodical habits and was noted for his remarkable memory. / Throughout his entire career he was known as a man who was the friend of his associates and those under him. He was a man of broad charity, but whose good deeds were done in the quietest possible manner. / A man of the strictest integrity, held in the highest esteem by the officers and employes of the company, he devoted himself entirely to the service of the company, making their interests his own and displaying marked ability in the conduct of his office with its constantly increasing business, involving the disbursement of millions of dollars." (*Carbondale Leader*, April 4, 1899, p. 2)

In the same issue of the *Carbondale Leader*, there is an article titled "A PAYMASTER'S EXPERIENCES." In this very interesting article, Paymaster Atherton recalled several incidents during which his life was in danger as he performed his duties for the D. & H.

"A PAYMASTER'S EXPERIENCES. Some of the Trying Times Which the Late Mr. Atherton Went Through—A Plot to Kill. / The death of H. F. Atherton of Providence who for the past thirty-five years has been one of the leading personages in the management of the Delaware & Hudson company's affairs in this valley is recorded in another column. The position of paymaster of any large concern, and it is most assuredly not a position for a man who lacks that element so well called 'nerve' by the world. He becomes the target of the covetous eyes of desperate men who would stop at nothing to obtain a large haul of the most precious of all kinds of 'swag'—hard, yellow specie—and unless he has unusual courage he will not stand long at such a post. / It is natural to surmise that a man handling the enormous quantities of money that Mr. Atherton did should have some unpleasant and trying experiences during his long career, and it was curiosity on this point that led a LEADER man to ask the genial paymaster some time ago for a relation of the facts of some of his thrilling ordeals. / 'The narrowest escape I ever had from annihilation,' said Mr. Atherton, 'was at the time of the 'Big Strike' on the Delaware & Hudson. As usual, I went among other places to the big Black Diamond colliery near Wilkes-Barre to pay the employes, but just before going I received from Mr. Weston, the superintendent, a note directing me to pay no men who were out on strike unless they turned in the keys to the company's houses occupied by them. The company had heard that the strike just begun was to last six months, and they wanted the keys to avoid the trouble of having to evict tenants who

were no longer in their employ. / TROUBLE BREWING. / 'There was nothing for me to do but follow these directions and I proceeded to do so. Few of the men turned in their keys, for few expected that they would be demanded, and I had declined to pay but a few when I saw that trouble was brewing. The fact was passed around among the great crowd outside the car, many of whom were intoxicated and a large percentage of whom were strikers from the Hazleton region who had come over to Wilkes-Barre to confer with the Delaware & Hudson men. / 'These men who had nothing to do with the matter were the most violent in protesting against what they called my outrageous conduct, and they seemed bent on stirring up the passions of our men to violence. But most angry and abusive of all were the many women in the crowd. There were no maledictions too severe for them to hurl at our car and its occupants, and if the crowd had been made up entirely of women I fear we would not have escaped. / 'It was during the first mutterings that a large man stepped upon the car and said to me: / 'I represent the miners who have come here for their pay. By what right or for what reason do you withhold their money?' / 'I learned afterward that he was the editor of 'The Anthracite Monitor,' a miners' journal which did much to stir up the strike, and he paid his respects to me in the next issue of his paper. I showed him my orders, the superintendent's letter, and explained to him that however I might be disposed personally there was nothing for me to do but obey the instructions given me. I said I would pay all men turning in the keys, but could pay no others / 'Then you will have trouble,' he said, and left the car platform. / CRIES FOR VENGEANCE. / 'The trouble was not long in coming. When the editor went among the crowd and told them my decision many of the men and women became wild with anger and began to close in round the car. The place where we were situated was thick with large stones which many of the men and women seized as they moved toward us, some crying 'Smash the car!'; 'Gut the car!' 'Kill the thieves!' and sundry other injunctions to their fellow strikers. The wild and desperate faces of the mob were enough to make the stoutest heart weaken. Several mine foreman had gone with me to help guard the car, but all but two of them deserted us. The car stood alone, the engine having been detached and run up the road a short distance so that we might be rid of the noise from its escaping steam, and we were there alone in this cut at the mercy of several hundred frenzied men and women whose passions might lead them to any act. / 'We had our revolvers and would have defended the money in our charge with our lives if necessary, but we didn't want to do that and the odds were so terribly against us that a fight would have availed nothing. I went to the rear of the car where I got sight of the fireman of our engine who had come down the track to see what was the matter, and opening the window I said to him. 'We are in trouble and there will be bloodshed here if we do not get away promptly. I am going out on the platform to make a speech to the crowd if they will listen, and while I am talking I want you to run the engine down, hook on to this car and pull us out of here with all the speed you can muster.' He started up the track and I went to the platform to speak. Waving the superintendent's letter over my head, I addressed them. There were shouts of 'hear! hear!' and the babble quieted down enough for me to talk. I explained my situation, read the letter and to gain time commented on it as I read, while the men and women heard with angry visage. / TO THE

RESCUE. / 'Meantime the locomotive had slipped down the track almost noiselessly and had just succeeded in making the coupling when the crowd saw the ruse and made a mad rush for us; but they were not quick enough. The engineer pulled the throttle wide open and the train of engine and cars shot out, fairly plowing through the mob, while we held our revolvers in readiness and dodged the flying stones and other missiles hurled at us by the frenzied strikers. So rapidly did that engine pull us out that I was nearly hurled off the platform into the hands of the mob and four of the strikers who had succeeded in climbing on the platform could not alight and we carried them to Mill Creek where we had to wait in a switch for a passenger train to pass. When we began to slow up the men jumped off and escaped; otherwise we would have carried them through to Scranton and had them arrested. / 'A few years after I had a narrow escape of which I knew nothing until some time after its happenings. It was a plan to murder me and to take my satchel of gold and bills. It was my custom when I paid the employes of the company at Miner's Mills to get off the passenger train at Mill Creek and with a trusty guard walk to the former place. I continued this custom for a long time and was never molested, but one day sheriff Kirkendall, of Wilkes-Barre, came to me and told me of a plot that had been discovered in a curious way. It was planned by a notorious party who kept a saloon in Wilkes-Barre and was he ringleader in more than one act of outlawry for which he was never punished. The plan was this: On the day I was to pay at Miner's Mills, four men were to go to that town and walk up the track to a certain point on the railroad which it was known I always passed. Four other fellows were to take a train for Mill Creek, wait for me there and when I alighted from my train were to follow me down to the place where their pals were waiting, and there the band would demand the money I carried or if I resisted kill me and make off with it. The place selected for the attack was an admirable one. It was a bend in the road where we were obliged to pass between two long lines of side-tracked cars, out of sight and away from any help as completely as if we were in a dense piece of woods. / 'The guard I had with me was a brave fellow, a trained fighter and a good marksman, and if we had been attached we would at least have made it warm for the desperadoes, for we were heavily armed; but what could two men do in a lonely spot like that? They might die, defending their possessions, but desperate men would care nothing for that if they got what they were after./ THE PLOT FAILED. / 'But the plan was foiled in a fortunate way. When the quartet of crooks who were to go to Mill Creek were waiting at the station in Wilkes-Barre for their train, the chief of police saw them, and his trained intuition told him that four such characters were not together for an innocent purpose, and determining to follow them he slipped around the corner, hastily shed his uniform for a civilian suit and returned just in time to take the same train. On the way up one of the men recognized the chief and knowing that they were followed they gave up their plans and when they got to Mill Creek they separated and vamoosed to avoid arrest on suspicion or have their plot discovered by the officer. That lucky circumstance probably saved our lives. / 'Some time afterwards two men were jailed at Wilkes-Barre for a crime and having had a quarrel the usual thing occurred that happens 'when rogues fall out.' One of them told sheriff Kirkendall of the plotted robbery and assassination in which the other fellow had been implicated and that is how I eventually learned of it. / HIS

NARROWEST ESCAPE. / 'But the narrowest escape I ever had was at Grassy Island colliery near Peckville not long afterward. I was standing in a corner of the machine shop paying the men rapidly, for we had their wages counted out before hand, and was dealing it out quickly, as was our custom to get it off our hands and avoid any possible danger or temptation to robbery. The men were around me in a crowd, and I was thus engaged in handing out the packages of money when I happened to glance up and my blood was frozen by the sight of a gleaming knife raised over my head by a man whose face was the most desperate and villainous that I ever saw. I had only time to see the flashing of the blade and clutch instinctively for my revolver when a hand from behind caught the uplifted wrist and a moment later the man was in handcuffs. / 'The knife was a big dirk, as large and sharp as a bowie knife, and if it had ever descended on me would have ended my career. The fellow who attempted my life was not an employe, but had come there with the manifest purpose of getting money at all risks. On his body were also found two revolvers. He had gradually worked his way unnoticed through the crowd to where I stood and I can only surmise that he intended to strike me down, grab all the gold and bills that he could, and slash his way out through the crowd and escape. One can hardly imagine a more desperate and cold blooded plan to get a couple of handfuls of money but, as I said, the fellow's countenance looked savage and blood thirsty enough for any deed. I remember that on his face he had a horrible scar which looked as if he had in some scrimmage had a large knife thrust through his cheek. /'He was a murderer, I afterward learned and the man who saved my life was a detective who had been on the track of the fellow and was waiting for an opportunity to arrest him when this occurred. The murderer is now, I believe serving a life sentence in prison for his crime. / 'Who can doubt a special Providence when one's life is saved in more than one instance in such miraculous ways? / 'These things happened some years ago, and we learned lessons from the experiences. We have greater precautions now and consequently less temptation for such deeds, but we always go prepared for any emergency that we can foresee." (*Carbondale Leader*, April 4, 1899)

John R. Atherton, D&H Paymaster, beginning April 3, 1899:

During his tenure as D&H Paymaster, H. F. Atherton's sons John R. and Thomas served as their father's assistants in the paymaster's office. That we know from the obituary of H. F. Atherton given above. Following the death of H. F. Atherton on April 3, 1899, his son John R. would have surely been the best man for the position formerly held by his father, whose assistant the son had been during the father's lifetime. We do know for certain that in 1918 (see pages 231-236 below) that John R. Atherton was D&H Paymaster. That his tenure as D&H Paymaster began immediately following the death of his father seems more than likely. In 1934 (see Volume XV, p. 14 in this series) John R. Atherton was paymaster of The Hudson Coal Company.

Powderly Mines Pay Sheets, 1918

Given on the following four pages are four payroll sheets for Thomas Fadden, a miner who worked in the Powderly Mines in 1918, and the laborer who worked under Fadden's supervision. These sheets are for the following two-week time periods:

1. First Half of April 1918
2. First Half of July 1918
3. Second Half of July 1918
4. Second Half of December 1918

These sheets are very interesting historical documents, which the Carbondale D&H Transportation Museum acquired by purchase in 2016 when the museum learned, courtesy of John V. Buberniak, that they were available.

Each of these sheets is stamped "Paid" and dated by D&H Paymaster J. R. Atherton, son of H. F. Atherton. On the sheet for the second half of July 1918, for example, the text on the "Paid" stamp reads as follows:

"PAID / AUG 12 1918 / J. R. ATHERTON / PAYMASTER"

On the left side of these pay sheets, we see the work performed by the miner and his laborer. On the right side of these sheets we see the amounts that were deducted from the gross pay amount. Each of these sheets is stamped on the left side of the sheet:

"Extra Allowance / Account of / Extraordinary Conditions"

Here, then, are four payroll sheets for Thomas Fadden, a miner who worked in the Powderly Mines in 1918, and the laborer who worked under Fadden's supervision.

First Half of April 1918:

POWDERLY MINES
C. D. Form C-11

No. 571 Serial No. 219

The Delaware and Hudson Co., Dr.

1st Half of April 1918 To Thomas Fadden T. 118

For Mining <u>30</u>	Tons of Coal	@	<u>957.4</u>	By	Kegs of Powder		
" Alice water	Tons Coal	@		"	Sticks Dup't "		
" " Pitch	" "	@		" 1	Box " "	<u>3</u>	<u>50</u>
" Lin. Yds. Gangway		@		"	Sticks Mono. "		
" " " Airway		@		"	Box " "		
" " " Counter		@		" 2	Gallons of Oil		<u>36</u>
" " " Cross-Cut		@		" 50	Fuse		<u>35</u>
" " " Nar. Chamber		@		" 25	Blasting Caps		<u>24</u>
<u>6 1/2</u> " " Gob	"	@	<u>64.72</u>	"	Cartridge Paper		
" " " Top Rock		@		"	Handles		
" " " Mid. "		@		"	Sharpening Tools		
" " " Bot. "		@		"	Blacksmith Work		
" " " Sticky Coal		@					
" Props		@					
" Cross Timbers		@					
" Opening Chamber		@			Rent		
<u>74</u> Hours Miner		@	<u>30.88</u>	" 1	Tons of Coal	<u>4</u>	<u>50</u>
<u>64</u> Laborer Allowance		@	<u>76.35</u>	"	Check'n & Dk. B.		<u>26</u>
Account of				"	Taxes		
Extraordinary Conditions				"	Saved Liberty Bonds of 1917	<u>4</u>	<u>00</u>
				"	Laborer		
Total Earnings			<u>200.71</u>				
Total Deductions			<u>56.21</u>				
Amount Due			<u>144.50</u>		Dockage		

PAID
13 APR 1918
J. R. ATHERTON
PAYMASTER

"J. R. Atherton, Paymaster"

John R. Atherton was a son of H. F. Atherton.

First Half of July 1918:

No. 571 **POWDERLY MINES** Serial No. 212
C. D. Form C-11

The Delaware and Hudson Co, Dr.

1st Half of July 1918 To Thomas Fadden T 118

For Mining <u>46</u>	Tons of Coal	@	<u>959</u>	By	Kegs of Powder		<u>06</u>
" All'ce water	Tons Coal	@		"	Sticks Dup't "		
" " Pitch	" "	@		"	Box " "		
" " Lin. Yds. Gangway		@		"	Sticks Mono. "		
" " " Airway		@		"	Box " "		
" " " Counter		@		"	Gallons of Oil		
" " " Cross Cut		@		"	Fuse		<u>35</u>
" " " Nar. Chamber		@		"	Blasting Caps		<u>24</u>
" <u>10</u> " " Gob "		@	<u>6473</u>	"	Cartridge Paper		
" " " Top Rock		@		"	Handles		
" " " Mid. "		@		"	Sharpening Tools		
" " " Bot. "		@		"	Blacksmith Work		
" " " Sticky Coal		@					
" Props		@					
" Cross Timbers		@					
" Opening Chamber		@			Rent		
" <u>60</u> Hours Miner		@	<u>3088</u>		Tons of Coal		<u>42</u>
" <u>48</u> " Laborer		@	<u>2635</u>		Check'n & Dk. B.		
Extra Allowance					Taxes		<u>400</u>
Account of					Second Liberty Bonds of 1918		<u>250</u>
Extraordinary Conditions					Third Liberty Bonds of 1918		<u>5055</u>
Total Earnings			<u>10218</u>		Laborer		
Total Deductions			<u>5812</u>				
Amount Due			<u>4406</u>		Dockage	<u>40</u>	<u>5812</u>
						<u>1.57</u>	

Second Half of July 1918:

No. <u>511</u>		POWDERLY MINES		C. D. Form C-11		Serial No. <u>205</u>	
The Delaware and Hudson Co., Dr.		The Hudson Coal Co., Dr.					
2nd Half of July 1918		To Thomas Madden		T. 118			
For Mining	45 Tons of Coal	@	9293	4316	By	Kegs of Powder	
" All'ce water	Tons Coal	@			" 3	Sticks Dup't "	3 84
" " Pitch	" "	@			"	Box " "	3 30
" Lin. Yds. Gangway		@			"	Sticks Mono. "	
" " " Airway		@			"	Box " "	
" " " Counter		@			"	Gallons of Oil	
" " " Cross Cut		@			" 100	Fuse	28
" " " Nar. Chamber		@	6472	604	" 50	Blasting Caps	
" " " Gob "		@			"	Cartridge Paper	
" " " Top Rock		@			"	Handles	
" " " Mid. "		@			"	Sharpening Tools	
" " " Bot. "		@			"	Blacksmith Work	
" " " Sticky Coal		@					
" Props		@					
" Cross Timbers		@					
" Opening Chamber		@			"	Rent	
" Hours Miner		@	2593		"	Tons of Coal	4 50
" Laborer		@	3188		"	Check'n & Dk. B.	32
Extra Allowance					Second Liberty Bonds of 1917		
Account of					Taxes		2 00
Extraordinary					Third Liberty Bonds		250
Total Earnings			12026		"	Laborer	5661
Total Deductions			7265		Dockage 20 Cwt.		1604
Amount Due			4761				

PAID / AUG 12 1918 / J. R. ATHERTON / PAYMASTER

"PAID / AUG 12 1918 / J. R. ATHERTON / PAYMASTER"

Second Half of December 1918:

No. 571 **POWDERLY MINES** C. D. Form C-11 Serial No. 192
~~The Delaware and Hudson Co., Dr.~~ **THE HUDSON COAL CO.**
 2nd Half of December 1918 To Thomas Fadden T 118

For Mining <u>54</u>	Tons of Coal	@ <u>9592</u>	5179	By	Kegs of Powder		
" All'ce water	Tons Coal	@		"	Sticks Dup't "		
" " Pitch	" "	@		"	Box " "		
" Lin. Yds. Gangway		@		"	Sticks Mono. "		
" " " Airway		@		"	Box " "		
" " " Counter		@		"	Gallons of Oil		<u>36</u>
" " " Cross Cut		@		"	Fuse		
" " " Nar. Chamber		@		"	Blasting Caps		
" <u>12 1/2</u> " Gob	"	@ <u>6472</u>	778	"	Cartridge Paper		
" " " Top Rock		@		"	Handles		
" " " Mid. "		@		"	Sharpening Tools		
" " " Bot. "		@		"	Blacksmith Work		
" " " Sticky Coal		@					
" Props		@					
" Cross Timbers		@					
" Opening Chamber		@		"	Rent		<u>5 75</u>
" <u>7</u> Hours Miner		@ <u>3088</u>	216	"	Tons of Coal		<u>5 75</u>
" <u>7</u> " Laborer		@ <u>2655</u>	184	"	Check'n & Dk. B.		<u>5 75</u>
				"	Taxes		<u>2 60</u>
				"	Third Liberty Bonds		<u>5 80</u>
				"	Fourth Liberty Bonds		<u>44 17</u>
				"	Laborer		<u>80</u>
Total Earnings			<u>8957 1554</u>	Dockage		Cwt.	<u>5835</u>
Total Deductions			<u>5835</u>				
Amount Due			<u>3072</u>				

1509

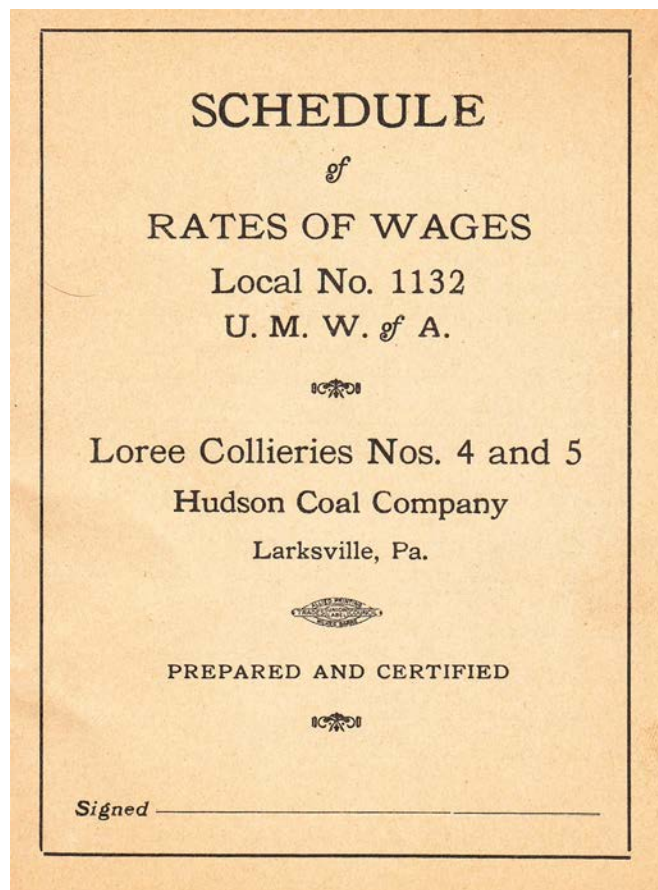
PAID

1418

Wages: Loree Collieries Nos. 4 and 5, c. 1927

Shown on the following 17 pages is the

Schedule
of
Rates of Wages
Local No. 1132
U. M. W. of A.
Loree Collieries Nos. 4 and 5
Hudson Coal Company Larksville, Pa.



The remarkable data presented in this *Schedule of Rates of Wages for Loree Collieries Nos. 4 and 5 in Larksville, Pa.* should not be regarded as applicable and/or valid for any other collieries in the anthracite region. From internal data in this *Schedule of Rates of Wages*, it appears that it was published either in or after 1927.

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OFFICERS LOCAL UNION No. 1132 U. M. W. of A.

President.....	Walter Luskus
Vice-President.....	John Urbanick
Secretary.....	John Berkheiser
Treasurer.....	John Stush
Financial Secretary.....	Herbert Williams
Assistant Financial Secretary.....	Anthony Strish
Compensation Secretary.....	George Elko

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEES

No. 4—Mike Boreski, Chairman; Frank Estock,
Lawrence Stukoski.

No. 5—Thomas Keating, Chairman; Joseph Stush,
Charles Covelski.

TRUSTEES

Joseph Spissak, Chairman; John Sufleta, Frank
Slymock.

DOORTENDER

George Orzech.

Local No. 1132 meets the first Monday evening
after every pay.

**THE DELAWARE AND HUDSON COMPANY
COAL DEPARTMENTS**

Statement of Rates Paid for Rib Yardage in Gangways and Airways.

Statement of Rates Paid Per Lineal Yard of Gangways and Airways.

Statement of Rates Paid Per Set of Timbers and Per Prop for Props in Pillar Robbing.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1917

PLYMOUTH NO. 5, COLLIERY

Gangways and Airways—Rib Yardage

The rib yardage rates on gangways and airways shall include the driving of gangways and airways in a good and workmanlike manner and according to the direction of the mine foreman; and shall include everything in connection with the driving of gangways and airways excepting timbers, top or bottom rock when taken for height and for middle rock in the Red Ash Top Split Bed.

The rates governing top or bottom rock when taken for height shall be the same as the top or bottom rock rates now in force at Plymouth No. 5 Colliery, viz:

Rock—Top and Bottom

All Beds, per foot thick per lineal yard.....\$1.2947
And the rates paid for middle rock in the Red

4

Ash Top Split Bed shall be the same as the rate now in effect at Plymouth No. 5 Colliery, viz:
Middle Rock, Red Ash Top Split Bed, per foot thick per lineal yard.....\$0.6473

PLYMOUTH No. 5

Effective April 1st payment for props in pillar robbing will be in accordance with the scale below. This scale covers all beds and all lengths of props. It is put in effect with the distinct understanding that no more props are to be set than those absolutely necessary. If the foreman or assistant foreman thinks that a man is setting more props than are necessary, he is to warn that man, and if the practice continues, the company will pay only for those props which the foreman or assistant foreman decide to be necessary.

Rates for Counters and Narrow Chambers in all veins will be as below:

Five-Foot	\$1.0240
Cooper	1.2829
Bennett	1.2829
Top Ross.....	1.2829
Bottom Ross.....	1.2829
Ross	1.7066
Top Split Red Ash.....	1.7066
Bottom Split Red Ash.....	1.7066

Bed	Rib Yardage Rates Per Lineal Yard
Five Foot.....	\$2.25
Cooper	2.50
Bennett	3.00
Top Split Ross.....	3.25

5

Bottom Split Ross.....	2.90
Ross	3.00
Three Foot.....	2.75
Top Split Red Ash.....	3.00
Bottom Split Red Ash.....	3.00

Rates on Gangways and Airways are hereby made effective February 16, 1917.

Props—Pillar Robbing—Per Prop

When prop is up to and including 8 feet long, per prop.....	\$0.40
When prop is over 8 feet long to and including 10 feet, per prop.....	0.70
When prop is over 10 feet long, per prop.....	1.00

Double Timbers in Narrow Work and Chambers—Per Prop

When leg is up to and including 8 feet long to and including 10 feet long, per set	\$2.0715
When leg is over 10 feet long, per set.....	2.5800

Double timbers under extraordinary conditions will be paid for at the regular company rates of \$.3088 per hour for miner and \$.2635 per hour for laborers for actual hours worked.

The determining factor as to whether the conditions are extraordinary will be the opinion of the inside foreman or the colliery superintendent.

The double timbers will be framed outside of the mine.

Above rates for props and timbers are to be used in place of the rates now in effect at Plymouth No. 5 Colliery and are made effective April 1st, 1917.

The above rates are hereby made a part of all the rates now in force at Plymouth No. 5 Colliery.

We have carefully examined the above rates and agreements and find them in every instance to be correct.

LOUIS FEISTL,
JOHN BOGDAN,
STEPHEN BLASKO,

Mine Committee,
No. 5 Colliery.

THOMAS STONEHAM,
Division Superintendent.
Inside Foreman.

THOMAS COATES,
ARTHUR ATHERTON,
Division Mining Engineer.
Officials of Plymouth
No. 5 Colliery.

OFFICE OF DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT

Plymouth, Pa., Sept. 11, 1919.

Memorandum of base rates to govern Top Rock and Middle Rock in what is commonly known as the "Rider Coal" of the Cooper Bed, in First Mining of the so-called "Rider Coal," and to include all "Rider Coal" between the vertically extended pillar ribs of the pillars which remain after first mining has been completed in the lower bench of the Cooper Bed; and which "Rider Coal" was permitted to remain in place after mining in chambers in the lower bench of the Cooper Bed was completed.

The following rates are to govern the handling of Top Rock for the above described conditions:

(a) Where top rock is in place and is ordered shot down to give sufficient height, or for reasons of safety, per foot thick, per lineal yard, \$1.2947.

(b) Where Top Rock is down and either mixed with the gob so that it is necessary to separate or move the top rock in order to gain the coal which is also down and mixed with the gob, the top rock shall be paid for as at present, by allowances expressed in hours, according to the judgment of the mine foreman, at the regular rates of \$0.3088 and \$0.2635, which exist as allowances for contract miners and contract miners' laborers, respectively.

The following rates are to govern the handling of Middle Rock for the above described conditions:

(a) Where Middle Rock is in place within the Rider Coal and it is necessary to remove the Rider Coal and the Middle Rock, all bands of Middle Rock within the Rider Coal which shall exceed a thickness of six (6) inches, shall be paid for at \$0.6473 per foot yard.

(b) Where Middle Rock is down and either mixed with the gob so that it is necessary to separate the middle rock or to move the middle rock in order to gain the coal which is also down and mixed with the gob, the middle rock shall be paid for as at present, by allowances expressed in hours, according to the judgment of the mine foreman, at the regular rates of \$0.3088 and \$0.2635, which exist at allowances for contract miners and contract miners' laborers, respectively.

Further, so that there shall be no misunderstanding as to what is meant by the "Rider Coal," the

following bed section is given as an illustration to show the position of the "Rider Coal" with respect to the remainder of the Cooper Bed, it being understood that the particular section given herewith is only to serve as an illustration and is in no way to be taken as being absolutely representative of the entire bed:

Top Rock.....	{ If down, thickness varies. Sometimes must be taken down. Other times need not be taken down.
Coal	
Rock	
(Commonly known as "Rider Coal")	
Mined out bench.....	7 feet and over

JACOB BRITTON,
Colliery Superintendent.

FRED BADMAN
Inside Foreman.

H. G. WILLIAMS,
Div. Mining Engineer.

JOSEPH BADOSKI,
JAMES HOGAN,
GEORGE BITSKO,
Committee Plymouth
No. 4 Colliery.

STEPHEN BLASKO,
MICHAEL EVANS,
ANDREW SKLADANY,
Committee Plymouth
No. 5 Colliery.

OFFICE OF DIVISION SUPERINTENDENT

Plymouth, Pa., September, 1919.

Top Ross Bed

Memorandum of base rates to govern the work attendant to the mining of coal in first or solid mining, in chambers gangways and airways at Plymouth No. 4 and No. 5 Collieries:

1. Per clean car of coal, properly topped.....\$1.70
2. Bone..... 0.60
(For all bands of bone which shall exceed a thickness of six (6) inches, when such bone is ordered by the mine foreman to be gobbed and not sent out.)

It is mutually understood that if market conditions allow the bone to be loaded into the car and sent out, it shall not be paid for, in which case only such bands as are not able to be loaded into the car, because of market conditions, will be paid for at this rate.

JACOB BRITTON,
Colliery Superintendent.

FRED BADMAN,
Mine Foreman.
For the Company.

JOSEPH BADOSKI,
JAMES HOGAN,
GEORGE BITSKO,
Committee Plymouth
No. 4 Colliery.

MICHAEL EVANS,
ANDREW SKLADANY,
STEPHEN BLASKO,
Committee Plymouth
No. 5 Colliery.

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Scranton, Pa., October 2, 1924.

In accordance with the decision of the umpire in Grievance No. 1403, that a rate be negotiated for the occupation of Crab Engineer, outside, at Loree Nos. 4 and 5 Collieries:

On this date a rate of \$0.63 per hour has been agreed upon for this occupation and classification and said rate is to be placed on the Outside Rate Sheet of both of the above collieries, as follows:

Engineer Crab.....Per Hour \$0.63

JOHN BONOSKI,
ALBERT KOCHER,
MIKE BRESKY,
No. 4 Colliery
Grievance Committee.

THOMAS KEATING,
JOSEPH STUSH,
JOSEPH TEMPRINE,
No. 5 Colliery
Grievance Committee.

JOHN B. T. JONES,
Assistant General Manager,
Hudson Coal Company.

This agreement, made this 1st day of May, 1926, between the Colliery Officials of Loree No. 4 Colliery, party of the first part, and the duly elected and authorized representative of the employees of Loree No. 4 Colliery, parties of the second part, covering rates to be paid to the classifications of electrical laborer, first class and electrical laborer, second class.

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Witnesseth:

The rates mentioned in this agreement are to be considered as rates established under the agreement of February 17th, 1926, between Districts 1, 7 and 9, representing the United Mine Workers of America, and the Anthracite Operators, and are to be increased or decreased by any subsequent wage increases or decreases when, as, and if made.

There shall be placed upon the Rate Scale of the Loree No. 4 Colliery of the Hudson Coal Company, and made a part thereof, the following classifications and rates:

Electrical Laborer, 1st class.....	Per Hr.	\$0.7009
Electrical Laborer, 2nd class.....	Per Hr.	0.6909

The terms of this agreement shall become effective on the 1st day of May, 1926.

In witness whereof the parties hereto have caused this agreement to be properly executed this 3rd day of May, 1926.

EDWARD FLYNN,
Colliery Superintendent.

JOHN B. T. JONES,
Assistant General Manager.
On Behalf of the Hudson Coal Co.

JOHN BONOSKI,
MICHAEL BRESKY,
ANTHONY STRISH,
On Behalf of the Employees
of Loree No. 4 Colliery.

Agreement concerning method of payment of contract miners' laborers at Loree Nos. 4 and 5 Collieries:

Whereas, The Honorable Charles P. Neil, Umpire, in his decision in Grievance No. 1397, with respect to contract miners' laborers' pay, stated:

"The amount of his increase under the 1920 agreement should, therefore, be computed upon the units of work produced, rather than upon the hours worked."

Whereas, On account of the varied character of the units of work produced, it would be difficult to equate the units so as to form a fair basis, and,

Whereas, The Company has been following a method which very closely approximates, in results, the method set forth by the Umpire, and,

Whereas, It is believed that for the future the average percentage method of determining the portion of the miner's laborer's pay to be stood by the Company will be a fair and proper application.

Now, therefore, it is mutually agreed as follows:

(1) That the contract miners at Loree Nos. 4 and 5 Collieries will report the amounts due to their laborers on the same 1916 earning basis as heretofore, plus 81½% (the amount of the increase to be stood by the miner as provided by the Agreement of 1920 and the Agreement of 1923), this total amount to represent the full sum to be stood by the contract miners.

(2) To the full amounts turned in by the contract miners as due to their laborers, as indicated by paragraph (1) above, the Company is to add 17.03% as the amount to be stood by it under paragraph (e) of the Agreement of September 2, 1920, and paragraph (5) of the supplemental Agreement of September 19, 1923, this percentage to be applied to the earnings of each contract miner's laborer as reported to the Company under paragraph (1) above.

(3) The amounts returned by the contract miners for their laborers, in accordance with paragraph (1) above, plus the amounts to be stood by the Company, in accordance with paragraph (2) above, are to constitute the gross pay of the contract miners' laborers.

This agreement to take effect with the pay period commencing January 1st, 1927, and to continue in effect so long as paragraph (e) of the Agreement of September 2, 1920, and paragraph (5) of supplementary Agreement of September 19, 1923, and the rates and methods named in such Agreements are effective.

This agreement is made without prejudice to either party of any grievance that may arise from contract miners' laborers pay up to January 1st, 1927.

MIKE BRESKY,
LAWRENCE STUKOWSKI,
FRANK ESTOCK,
Loree No. 4 Grievance Committee.
JOSEPH STUSH,
THOMAS KEATING,
CHARLES COVALESKI,
Loree No. 5 Grievance Committee.

MILES M. SWEENEY,
District Organizer, U. M. W. of A.

JOHN B. T. JONES,
Assistant General Manager.

EDWARD FLYNN,
Loree Nos. 4 and 5 Colliery Supt.
The Hudson Coal Company.

Scranton, Pa., January 19, 1927.

At the office of Enoch Williams, Secretary-Treasurer of District No. 1, U. M. W. of A., the undersigned and found the car measurements listed below, as filed with the District Office in Scranton.

Measurements of old car at Plymouth Nos. 4 and 5 Collieries:

No. 5 Colliery Old Car		
Length: 6 feet 10½ inches	}	8 Inches
Width: 3 feet 11 inches		Topping
Depth: 2 feet 6½ inches		

No. 4 Colliery Old Car		
Length: 6 feet 11 inches	}	8 Inches
Depth: 2 feet 7 inches		Topping
Width: 3 feet 10 inches		

Measurements of new car at Plymouth Nos. 4 and 5 Collieries:

No. 4 Colliery New Car		} No Topping Stated
Length:	7 feet 4 inches	
Width:	3 feet 11½ inches	
Depth:	2 feet 5 inches	
No. 5 Colliery New Car		} No Topping Stated
Length:	7 feet 3 inches	
Width:	3 feet 11½ inches	
Depth:	2 feet 5 inches	

The above measurements and information were received after careful investigation by the following committee:

WALTER LUSKUS,
JOHN BERKHEISER,
PAUL SOLEY.

ANTHRACITE BOARD OF CONCILIATION

Operators

HON. W. L. CONNELL, Chairman
MR. S. D. WARRINER
MR. W. J. RICHARDS

Miners

MR. JOHN T. DEMPSEY
MR. THOMAS KENNEDY
MR. JAMES MATTHEWS
JAMES A. GORMAN, Secretary
Hazleton, Pa., July 10, 1918.

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To Anthracite Operators and Mine Workers:

At a meeting of the Anthracite Board of Conciliation held upon the 8th day of July, 1918, the following resolution was adopted, to-wit:

"The Board of Conciliation believes that as a war measure at a time when public necessity requires the maximum production of coal there should be no cessation of the operation of a colliery on account of the death of an employee caused by accident, or on account of funerals, and to the end that all collieries should remain in full operation under such circumstances, and in consideration thereof it is directed that the operator pay to the nearest heir of the deceased employee whose death has been caused by accident at the colliery, the sum of one hundred fifty (\$150) dollars, and in addition thereto, directs that the Grievance Committee and Mine Foreman select six representatives to attend the funeral, it being understood that such men will be selected as will least cripple the operation on that day, the wages of such representatives to be paid by the operator."

Very truly yours,

JAMES A. GORMAN,
Secretary.

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**PENNSYLVANIA WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION
ACT**

**Relating to Employers and Employees Who Have
Not Served Notice of Rejection of Article III,
and Are Therefore Subject to Its
Provisions**

Original Act Passed June 2, 1915; Amended June
26, 1919; Effective January 1, 1920.

Applies to all accidents in Pennsylvania in "course of employment" causing disability for more than 10 days—or death in 300 weeks. (Except when intentionally self-inflicted or caused by a third person for personal reasons.)

Employees excepted: Domestic servants, agricultural workers, home workers and casual workers not employed in employer's regular business.

Compulsory on state, county, city, borough, township, school "or any other governmental authority created by the laws of this Commonwealth.

Optional with all other employers and all employees.

No compensation allowed for first 10 days, but employer must furnish reasonable medical services from the time of the accident until the 31st day after disability begins at a cost not to exceed \$100.00, in addition to the above services, medicines and supplies, hospital treatment, services and supplies shall be furnished by the employer for the said period of 30 days. The cost for such hospital treatment, service and supplies shall not in any case ex-

ceed the prevailing charge in the hospital for like services to other individuals.

Non-fatal injuries: Rate is 60 per cent. average weekly wages. Time to run varies with disability. Total amount not to exceed \$5,000.00. Compensation not to be over \$12.00 nor less than \$6.00 per week, unless wages are less than \$6.00 per week, then full wages are to be paid.

(a) Total disability—60 per cent. of wages to end of total disability, not to exceed 500 weeks, nor \$5,000.00.

(b) Partial disability—60 per cent. loss in earning power (difference between wages before and after accident) to end of partial disability, not to exceed 300 weeks.

(c) Permanent injuries—60 per cent. wages for 175 weeks for loss of hand; 60 per cent. wages for 215 weeks for loss of arm or leg; 60 per cent. wages for 150 weeks for loss of foot; 60 per cent. wages for 125 weeks for loss of eye.

Note—Loss of any two such members, not constituting total disability, the sum of periods for each. Loss of both eyes, hands, arms, feet or legs equals total disability.

Fatal injuries: Rate varies with number of dependents. Wages (for computation) not over \$20.00 nor under \$10.00 per week. Compensation therefore cannot be over \$12.00, nor under \$1.50 per week. Time to run, 300 weeks. (*) Compensation not paid to widow unless living with or actually depending upon her deceased husband at time of his death. Reasonable expenses of last sickness and burial not to exceed \$100.00 must be paid to dependent, if any, if not, then to personal representatives.

(a) If there be neither widow nor dependent widower and 1 or 2 children survive, 30 per cent. wages to children until 16 years of age; 3 children survive, 40 per cent. wages to children until 16 years of age; 4 children survive, 50 per cent. wages to children until 16 years of age; 5 children survive, 60 per cent. wages to children until 16 years of age.

(b) If a widow or widower survive and no children, 40 per cent. wages to widow or widower for 300 weeks; 1 child, 50 per cent. wages to widow or widower for 300 weeks; 2 children or more, 60 per cent. wages to widow or widower for 300 weeks.

(c) If there be neither widow, widower or children entitled to compensation, and parents survive, 20 per cent. wages to parents or survivor, for 300 weeks if dependent to any extent upon deceased employee. If the father or mother be totally dependent, then 40 per cent. for 300 weeks.

(d) If there be neither widow, widower, children nor dependent parent, entitled to compensation and brothers and sisters actually dependent survive: 1 brother or sister, 15 per cent. wages to brother or sister for 300 weeks, or until 16 years of age; 2 brothers or sisters, 20 per cent. wages to them for 300 weeks, or until 16 years of age; 3 or more brothers or sisters, 25 per cent. wages to them for 300 weeks, or until 16 years of age.

(e) Non-residents of United States—Widows and children receive two-thirds of amounts provided for residents. Widowers, parents, brothers and sisters not entitled to compensation.

(f) Remarriage of widow—Upon the remarriage of any widow other than a non-resident alien widow, the employer shall pay to such widow the then value

of the compensation payable to her during one-third of the period during which compensation then remains payable, but not exceeding 100 weeks, calculated in accordance with the provisions of Section 316 of Article III.

(*) Compensation must be paid to all children until they reach the age of 16. If this requires more than 300 weeks, then the compensation for time in excess of 300 weeks shall be as follows:

One child, 15 per cent. wages until 16 years of age;
2 children, 25 per cent. wages until 16 years of age;
3 children, 35 per cent. wages until 16 years of age;
4 children, 45 per cent. wages until 16 years of age;
5 or more children, 50 per cent. wages until 16 years of age.

COMMITTEE ON RATES AND CONTRACTS

WALTER LUSKUS, Chairman.
JOHN BERKHEISER, Secretary.
JOSEPH SPISSAK.
PAUL SOLEY.
JOHN SUFLETA,
JOSEPH HAHN.
STEPHEN BLASKO.

Mining Coal

Red Ash and Top Split Red Ash			
Vein	Per	Car	\$2.0722
Cooper Vein.....	Per	Car	2.0722
Five Foot.....	Per	Car	2.0722

Ross Vein.....	Per Car	2.0722
Ross Bottom Vein.....	Per Car	2.0722
Ross Top Vein.....	Per Car	3.0855
Bennett Vein.....	Per Car	1.9012x

Pushing, bucking or bugging
coal in pitching chambers
where vein is 30 inches in
thickness or more—

First 100 ft. of chamber length.....	Per Car	4.9912x
100 ft. to 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car	5.1727x
All over 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car	5.3542x

Bottom Ross Vein—
Pushing, bucking or bugging
coal in pitching chambers
where vein is less than 30
inches thick—

First 100 ft. of chamber length.....	Per Car	5.4450x
100 ft. to 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car	5.6265x
All over 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car	5.8080x

Panel Places, bugging or load-
ing in the car where vein is
30 inches in thickness or
more—

Full length of chamber.....	Per Car	5.4450x
Panel Places, bugging or load- ing in the car where vein is less than 30 inches in thickness—		
Full length of chamber.....	Per Car	5.8987x

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(The prices above in pitching or panel places in-
clude all payments in connection with mining of
coal under these conditions, excepting top or bot-
tom rock where necessary to blast for height.)

Red Ash Top and Bottom Splits

Vein	Per Yd.	\$5.4450
Copper Vein.....	Per Yd.	4.5375
Ross Vein.....	Per Yd.	5.4450
Ross Bottom Vein.....	Per Yd.	5.2635x
Ross Top Vein.....	Per Yd.	5.8987
Bennett Vein.....	Per Yd.	5.4450
Five Foot Vein.....	Per Yd.	4.0837
Three Foot Vein.....	Per Yd.	4.9912x

Counter

Red Ash Vein.....	Per Yd.	3.0975
Five Foot Vein.....	Per Yd.	1.8586x
Copper Vein.....	Per Yd.	2.3285x
Bennett Vein.....	Per Yd.	2.3285

Cross Cut

All Veins.....	Per Yd.	3.1296
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Narrow Chamber

Red Ash Vein (16 ft. or under when driven with pitch of vein)	Per Yd.	3.0975x
Five Foot Vein (16 ft. or under when driven with pitch of vein)	Per Yd.	1.8586x
Bennett and Cooper Vein (16 ft. or under when driven with pitch of vein).....	Per Yd.	2.3285x

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Opening Chamber

Red Ash Bottom Split Vein.....Each 11.7494

Double Timbers

When leg is up to and including
10 ft. long.....Per Set 3.7598x
When leg is over 10 ft. long.....Per Set 4.6827x

Props—(Pillar Robbing)

Up to and including 8 ft. long.....Each .7260
8 ft. to 10 ft. long.....Each 1.2705x
Over 10 ft. long.....Each 1.8150x

Rock—Top and Bottom (where necessary to blast for height)

All Veins per ft. thick.....Per Yd. 2.3498

Fallen—Top Rock

Cooper Rider Vein per ft. thick. Per Yd. 1.1748x

Rock—Middle

Red Ash Top Split Vein per ft.
thickPer Yd. 1.1748x
Cooper Rider Vein per ft. thick..Per Yd. 1.1748x
(In excess of 6 inches thick)

Bone

Top Ross Vein per ft. thick.....Per Yd. 1.0890x
(In excess of 6 inches thick)
(No band of bone 6 inches or
less in thickness is to be paid
for, but the sum of all bands,
each of which is over 6 inches
in thickness is to be paid for
when the bone is gobbled and
not loaded with the coal.)

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INSIDE**Occupations**

Engineer, Plane.....	Per Hr.	.7411
Engineer, Crab.....	Per Hr.	.6864
Engineer, Electric Locomotive.....	Per Hr.	.6864x
Engineer, Electric Locomotive.....	Per Hr.	.6564x
Engineer, Electric Locomotive.....	Per Hr.	.6406x
Pumpmen	Per Hr.	.7191x
Tracklayer	Per Hr.	.7611x
Tracklayer Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Timberman	Per Hr.	.7192
Timberman Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Bratticeman	Per Hr.	.7192
Bratticeman Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Mason	Per Hr.	.7192
Mason Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Chargeman	Per Hr.	.7611
Laborer, first class.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Blacksmith	Per Hr.	.7082
Pulleyman	Per Hr.	.7192
Headman	Per Hr.	.6609
Boss Footman.....	Per Hr.	.6882
Footman	Per Hr.	.6609
Locomotive Brakeman.....	Per Hr.	.5988x
Locomotive Brakeman Helper.....	Per Hr.	.3897x
Barn Boss.....	Per Month	167.31
Runner, first class.....	Per Hr.	.6827
Runner, second class.....	Per Hr.	.6609x
Team Driver, 3 mules or more.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Mule Driver, alone.....	Per Hr.	.6244
Mule Driver, first class.....	Per Hr.	.6170
Mule Driver, second class.....	Per Hr.	.5988x
Mule Driver, third class.....	Per Hr.	.5775x
Car Oiler.....	Per Hr.	.4037
Chain Hoist Boy.....		

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Machine Miner.....	Per Hr.	.8444
Machine Miner Laborer.....	Per Hr.	.7192
Machine Miner Laborer Loader.....	Per Hr.	.7095
Machine Runner.....	Per Hr.	.7811
Machine Runner Helper.....	Per Hr.	.7095
Scraper Boss.....	Per Hr.	.7691
Scraper Man.....	Per Hr.	.7095
Scraper Engineer.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Doorboy.....	Per Hr.	.3617
Consideration Miner.....	Per Hr.	.8244
Consideration Laborer.....	Per Hr.	.7478x
Company Miner.....	Per Hr.	.7192x
Company Laborer.....	Per Hr.	.6609x

OUTSIDE

Occupations

Engineer, Shaft.....	Per Month	196.64
Engineer, Fan.....	Per Hr.	.7268
Engineer, Breaker.....	Per Month	167.95
Engineer, Locomotive.....	Per Hr.	.6865
Engineer, Washery.....	Per Hr.	.6085
Barn Boss.....	Per Month	159.59
Fireman.....	Per Hr.	.6549
Ashman.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Fuelman.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Pumpman.....	Per Hr.	.5812x
Teamster.....	Per Hr.	.6013
Blacksmith.....	Per Hr.	.7538
Blacksmith Helper.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Carpenter.....	Per Hr.	.7538
Carpenter.....	Per Hr.	.7082
Carpenter Helper.....	Per Hr.	.5812x
Machinist.....	Per Hr.	.7082x
Machinist Helper.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Machinery Attendant.....	Per Hr.	.5812x

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Breaker Machinist.....	Per Hr.	.6176
Docking Boss.....	Per Hr.	.6214x
Headman.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Dumper.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Propman.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Laborer, first class.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Laborer, second class.....	Per Hr.	.5775x
Car Cleaner and Patcher.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Car Runner.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Car Loader, Gondolas.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Car Loader, Box Cars.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Washery Loader Boss.....	Per Hr.	.6176
Breaker Loader Boss.....	Per Hr.	.6176
Repairman.....	Per Hr.	.5812x
Yard Driver.....	Per Hr.	.4084
Siltman.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Jig Runner.....	Per Hr.	.5775
Breaker Cleaner.....	Per Hr.	.3819
Picker, first class.....	Per Hr.	.3818
Picker on Pure Coal.....	Per Hr.	.3649
Picker on Jig Refuse.....	Per Hr.	.3462
Picker on Jig Coal.....	Per Hr.	.3462
Breaker Oiler.....	Per Hr.	.4007
Engineer, Crab.....	Per Hr.	.63

Signed in accordance with paragraph 9 of Wage Agreement of September 19, 1923, reading as follows:

(9) The Colliery rate sheets of the different collieries shall be brought up to date; shall be signed by the company officials and the mine committees; and shall then be filed with the Board of Conciliation. In case of dispute as to the correctness of any rate, the rate shall be determined by the Board after hearing. In such cases the burden of proof shall rest with the party taking exception to the filed rate.

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MINE COMMITTEE

LOUIS FEISTE.
JOHN URBANICK.
THOMAS J. KEATING

COMPANY OFFICIALS

JACOB BRITTON,
W. GRANGLE,
Colliery Superintendent.
W. GRANGLE,
Chief Colliery Engineer.
GEORGE A. SPARE,
Inside Foreman.
GEORGE E. THOMAS,
Outside Foreman.

P. S.—All items on these rate sheets marked "X"
are not agreed to by the Mine Committee.

LOUIS FEISTE,
JOHN URBANICK,
THOMAS J. KEATING,
Members of Mine Committee.

LOREE NO. 4 COLLIERY RATE SHEET EFFECTIVE SEPT. 1, 1923.

Calculated as Per Wage Agreement of September
19, 1923.

Mining Coal

Red Ash and Top Split Red Ash	
Vein	Per Car \$2.0722
Ross Vein.....	Per Car 2.0722
Bennett Vein.....	Per Car 1.9012
Cooper Vein.....	Per Car 1.9012
Ross Bottom Vein.....	Per Car 2.0722

(This rate signed for Gangways and
Airways only.)

Ross Top Vein.....	Per Car 3.0855
Pushing, bucking or bugging coal in pitching chambers where vein is 30 inches in thickness or more—	
First 100 ft. of chamber length.....	Per Car 4.9912
100 ft. to 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car 5.1727
All over 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car 5.3542
Pushing, bucking or bugging coal in pitching chambers where vein is less than 30 inches thick—	
First 100 ft. of chamber length.....	Per Car 5.4480
100 ft. to 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car 5.6265
All over 150 ft. of chamber length	Per Car 5.8080

Not Signed.

Bottom Ross Vein

Panel Places, bugging or loading in the car where vein is less than 30 inches in thickness—	
Full length of chamber.....	Per Car 5.4450
Panel Places, bugging or loading in the car where vein is 30 inches in thickness or more—	
Full length of chamber.....	Per Car 5.8987

(The prices above in pitching or panel places include all payments in connection with mining of coal under these conditions, excepting top or bottom rock where necessary to blast for height.)

Ross Vein.....	Per Yr. 5.4450
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Gangways and Airways

Ross Top Vein.....	Per Yd. 5.8987
Ross Bottom Vein.....	Per Yd. 5.2635
Three Foot Vein.....	Per Yd. 4.9912
Bennett Vein.....	Per Yd. 5.4450
Cooper Vein.....	Per Yd. 4.5375
Red Ash Top and Bottom Splits	
Vein	Per Yd. 5.4450
Red Ash and Ross Veins.....	Per Yd. 3.0975

**Counter
Cross Cut**

All Veins.....	Per Yd. 3.0975
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Narrow Chamber

All veins, 16 ft. or under when driven with pitch of vein.....	Per Yd. 3.0975
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Opening Chamber

Red Ash Bottom Split Vein.....	Each 11.7494
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Double Timbers

Gangways and Airways.....	Per Set 5.6397
Chambers and Pillar Robbing.....	Per Set 4.6997

Props—Solid Mining and Pillar Robbing

8 ft. to 10 ft. in length.....	Each 1.5486
10 ft. to 12 ft. in length.....	Each 2.3285
12 ft. and over in length.....	Each 2.8197

(No. 5 this rate 1.81)

Rock—Top and Bottom (where necessary to blast for height)

All veins per ft. thick.....	Per Yd. 2.3498
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Rock—Middle

Red Ash Top Split Vein, per ft. thick	Per Yd. 1.0890
Cooper Rider Vein, per ft. thick.....	Per Yd. 1.1748
(In excess of 6 inches thick)	

Bone

Top Ross Vein (in excess of six (6) inches thick), per ft. thick	Per Yd. 1.0890
(No band of bone 6 inches or less in thickness is to be paid for, but the sum of all bands, each of which is over 6 inches in thickness is to be paid for when the bone is gobbed and not loaded with the coal.)	

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INSIDE

Occupations

Engineer, Plane.....	Per Hr.	.7411
Engineer, Crab.....	Per Hr.	.6864
Engineer, Electric Locomotive.....	Per Hr.	.6864
Engineer, Electric Locomotive.....	Per Hr.	.6564
Engineer, Electric Locomotive.....	Per Hr.	.6406
Pumpman.....	Per Hr.	.7191
Tracklayer.....	Per Hr.	.7611
Tracklayer Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Timberman.....	Per Hr.	.7192
Timberman Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Bratticeman.....	Per Hr.	.7192
Bratticeman Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Mason.....	Per Hr.	.7192
Mason Assistant.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Laborer, first class.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Laborer, second class.....	Per Hr.	.6170
Blacksmith.....	Per Hr.	.7082
Pulleyman.....	Per Hr.	.7192
Headman.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Boss Footman.....	Per Hr.	.6808
Car Oiler.....	Per Hr.	.4037
Footman.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Chain Hoist Boy.....	Per Hr.	.4037
Locomotive Brakeman.....	Per Hr.	.5988
Locomotive Brakeman Helper.....	Per Hr.	.3897
Barn Boss.....	Per Month	167.31
Runner.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Team Driver, 3 mules or more.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Mule Driver, alone.....	Per Hr.	.6244
Mule Driver, first class.....	Per Hr.	.6170
Mule Driver, second class.....	Per Hr.	.5988x
Mule Driver, third class.....	Per Hr.	.5775x
Machine Miner.....	Per Hr.	.8444

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Machine Miner Laborer.....	Per Hr.	.7192
Machine Miner Laborer Loader.....	Per Hr.	.7095
Machine Runner.....	Per Hr.	.7811
Machine Runner Helper.....	Per Hr.	.7095
Scraper Man.....	Per Hr.	.7095
Scraper Boss.....	Per Hr.	.7691
Scraper Engineer.....	Per Hr.	.6609
Doorboy.....	Per Hr.	.3617
Consideration Miner.....	Per Hr.	.8244
Consideration Laborer.....	Per Hr.	.7478
Company Miner.....	Per Hr.	.7192
Company Laborer.....	Per Hr.	.6609

OUTSIDE

Occupations

Engineer, Shaft.....	Per Month	196.64
Engineer, Slope.....	Per Hr.	.7088
Engineer, Fan.....	Per Hr.	.7268
Teamster.....	Per Hr.	.6013
Blacksmith.....	Per Hr.	.7538
Blacksmith Helper.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Headman.....	Per Hr.	.5812
Culm Flusher Boy.....	Per Hr.	.4037
Laborer, first class.....	Per Hr.	.5812

Signed in accordance with paragraph 9 of Wage Agreement of September 19, 1923, reading as follows:

(9) The Colliery rate sheets of the different collieries shall be brought up to date; shall be signed by the company officials and the mine committees; and shall then be filed with the Board of Conciliation. In case of dispute as to the correct-

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ness of any rate, the rate shall be determined by the Board after hearing. In such cases the burden of proof shall rest with the party taking exception to the filed rate.

MINE COMMITTEE

ALBERT KOCHER.
JOHN BONOSKI.
MIKE BRETSKY.

COMPANY OFFICIALS

JACOB BRITTON,
Colliery Superintendent.
I. W. GRANGER,
Colliery Engineer.
GEORGE A. SPARE,
Inside Foreman.
GEORGE E. THOMAS,
Outside Foreman.

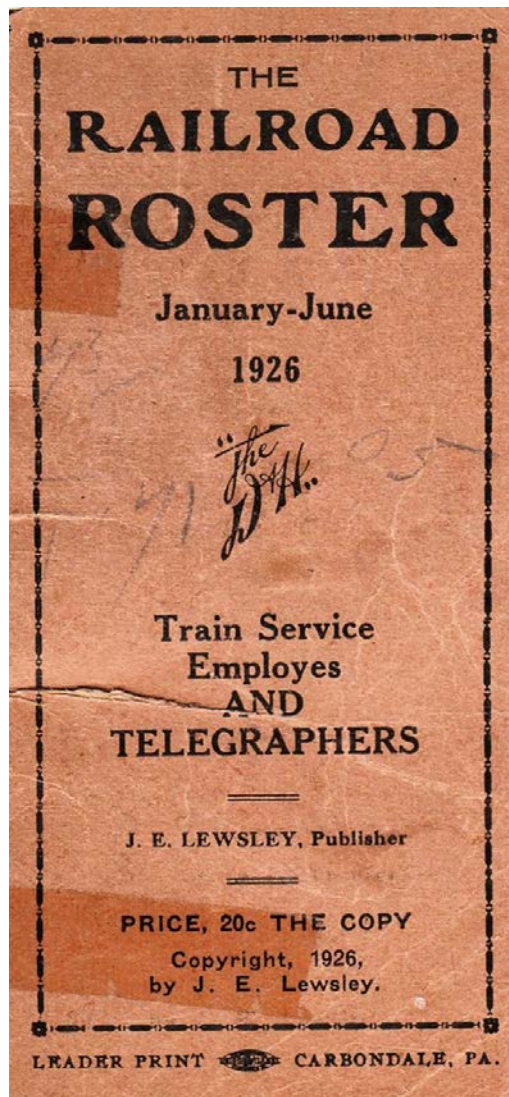
P. S.—All items on these rate sheets marked "X" are not agreed to by the Mine Committee.

ALBERT KOCHER,
JOHN BONOSKI,
MIKE BRETSKY,
Members of Mine Committee
No. 4 Colliery, Local 1132.

Plymouth, Pa., January 24th, 1924.

Pay on the D&H Railroad, January-June 1926

On May 11, 2016, Janet Isgar (7900 Quigley Road, Union Dale, PA 18470) donated a copy of "The Railroad Roster /January-June 1926 / The D&H Train Service Employees and TELEGRAPHERS," J. E. Lewsley, Publisher) to the Carbondale D&H Transportation Museum. Her grandfather, Ernest Enslin, and both of her husband Robert's grandfathers (Joseph Isgar and Leonard Besecker) were all D&H engineers. She also donated to the museum a D&H VETERAN lapel pin that belonged to Leonard Besecker (lived at 26 Sand Street, Carbondale, phone 1236J). Included in that January-June 1926 Roster (title page shown below) are the tables of rates of pay for engineers, firemen, trainmen, and yard conductors that are shown below.



STANDARD TIME AND ONE-HALF MILEAGE COMPUTING TABLE REVISED

(OVERTIME EARNINGS ON FIVE MINUTE BASIS SHOWN).

Hours and Minutes	Miles	Trainmen, Slow Freight..	Train, Mine Run & Pick-up	Slow Frt. Cond. & Yard Train.	Mine Run and Pick-up Condr.	Hours and Minutes	Miles	Trainmen, Slow Freight..	Mine Run and Pick-up Train.	Slow Frt. Cond. & Yd. trainmen	Mine Run and Pick-up condr.	Hours and Minutes	Miles	Trainmen, Slow Freight	Train, Mine Run & Pick-up	Slow Frt. Cond. & Yard Train.	Mine Run and Pick-up Condr.
8	100	\$4.84	\$5.24	\$6.16	\$6.68	9	119	\$5.76	\$6.23	\$7.32	\$7.93	10	137	\$6.63	\$7.20	\$8.43	\$9.18
5	2	4.93	5.34	6.28	6.78	5	20	5.80	6.29	7.39	8.04	5	39	6.73	7.28	8.55	9.29
10	3	4.99	5.40	6.34	6.89	10	22	5.90	6.39	7.51	8.14	10	41	6.82	7.39	8.68	9.39
15	5	5.08	5.50	6.46	6.99	15	23	5.95	6.45	7.57	8.25	15	42	6.87	7.44	8.74	9.50
20	6	5.13	5.55	6.53	7.10	20	25	6.05	6.55	7.69	8.35	20	44	6.97	7.55	8.86	9.60
25	8	5.23	5.66	6.65	7.20	25	27	6.14	6.65	7.82	8.45	25	45	7.02	7.60	8.92	9.71
30	9	5.28	5.71	6.71	7.31	30	28	6.20	6.71	7.88	8.56	30	47	7.11	7.70	9.04	9.81
35	11	5.37	5.82	6.83	7.41	35	30	6.29	6.81	8.00	8.66	35	48	7.16	7.76	9.11	9.92
40	12	5.42	5.87	6.89	7.51	40	31	6.34	6.86	8.06	8.77	40	50	7.26	7.86	9.23	10.02
45	14	5.52	5.97	7.02	7.62	45	33	6.44	6.97	8.18	8.87	45	52	7.36	7.96	9.35	10.12
50	16	5.61	6.08	7.14	7.72	50	34	6.49	7.02	8.25	8.98	50	53	7.41	8.02	9.41	10.23
55	17	5.66	6.13	7.20	7.83	55	36	6.58	7.13	8.37	9.08	55	55	7.50	8.12	9.54	10.33

Engineers Table of Rates of Pay Per 100 Miles

Engine No.	Through Freight	Local Freight	Pass.	Yard
20-50	\$7.00	\$7.52	\$6.24	\$6.72
380-381-350 ..	6.84	7.36	6.16	6.72
427-455-121 ..	6.92	7.44	6.16	6.72
555-538-117 ..	7.00	7.52	6.24	6.72
700-764	7.00	7.52	6.24	6.72
765-790-559 ..	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
791-799	7.40	7.92	6.40	6.88
792-798-795 ..	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
800-81	7.40	7.92	6.40	6.88
801	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
802	7.40	7.92	6.40	6.88
803	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
804-842	7.40	7.92	6.40	6.88
843	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
844-845-847 ..	7.40	7.92	6.40	6.88
846	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
853	7.40	7.92	6.40	6.88
854-855	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
856-879	7.40	7.92	6.40	6.88
1000-1006 ...	7.24	7.76	6.32	6.88
1007-1096	7.56	8.08	6.48	7.04
1200-1220	7.70	8.22	6.56	7.04
1600-1612	8.76	9.28	7.16	8.80
880-900	7.56	8.08	6.48	7.04

TRAINMAN'S COMPUTING TABLE CONTINUED

(Twelfth Hour)

11	156	\$7.55	\$8.17	\$ 9.60	\$10.44
5	58	7.65	8.28	9.72	10.54
10	59	7.70	8.33	9.78	10.65
15	61	7.79	8.44	9.91	10.75
20	62	7.84	8.49	9.97	10.85
25	64	7.94	8.59	10.10	10.96
30	66	8.03	8.70	10.22	11.06
35	67	8.08	8.75	10.28	11.17
40	69	8.18	8.86	10.41	11.27
45	70	8.23	8.91	10.47	11.38
50	72	8.32	9.01	10.59	11.48
55	73	8.37	9.07	10.65	11.59

TRAINMAN'S COMPUTING TABLE CONTINUED

(Thirteenth Hour)

12	175	\$8.47	\$ 9.17	\$10.77	\$11.69
5	77	8.57	9.27	10.90	11.79
10	78	8.62	9.33	10.96	11.90
15	80	8.71	9.43	11.08	12.00
20	81	8.76	9.48	11.14	12.11
25	83	8.86	9.59	11.27	12.21
30	84	8.91	9.64	11.33	12.32
35	86	9.00	9.75	11.45	12.42
40	87	9.05	9.80	11.51	12.52
45	89	9.15	9.90	11.63	12.63
50	91	9.24	10.01	11.76	12.73
55	92	9.29	10.06	11.82	12.84

TRAINMAN'S COMPUTING TABLE CONTINUED

(Fourteenth Hour)

13	194	\$ 9.39	\$10.16	\$11.94	\$12.94
5	95	9.44	10.22	12.00	13.05
10	97	9.53	10.32	12.13	13.15
15	98	9.58	10.37	12.19	13.25
20	200	9.68	10.48	12.32	13.36
25	2	9.78	10.58	12.44	13.46
30	3	9.83	10.64	12.50	13.57
35	5	9.92	10.74	12.62	13.67
40	6	9.97	10.79	12.68	13.78
45	8	10.07	10.90	12.80	13.88
50	9	10.12	10.95	12.86	13.99
55	11	10.21	11.05	12.99	14.09

TRAINMAN'S COMPUTING TABLE CONTINUED

(Sixteenth Hour)

15	231	\$11.18	\$12.10	\$14.22	\$15.45
5	33	11.28	12.21	14.35	15.55
10	34	11.33	12.26	14.41	15.66
15	36	11.42	12.37	14.53	15.76
20	37	11.47	12.42	14.59	15.86
25	39	11.57	12.52	14.72	15.97
30	41	11.66	12.63	14.84	16.07
35	42	11.71	12.68	14.90	16.18
40	44	11.81	12.79	15.02	16.28
45	45	11.86	12.84	15.08	16.39
50	47	11.95	12.94	15.21	16.49
55	48	12.00	13.00	15.27	16.60
59	50	12.10	13.10	15.40	16.70

YARD CONDUCTOR'S TIME AND ON-HALF

(Twelve Hours)

COMPUTING TABLE

Rate	Hours and Minutes	Rate	Hours and Minutes	Rate	Hours and Minutes	Rate	Hours and Minutes
8 \$6.64	9 \$7.88	10 \$9.13	11 \$10.37	5 6.74	5 7.98	5 9.22	5 10.46
10 6.85	10 8.09	10 9.32	10 10.57	15 6.95	15 8.19	15 9.43	15 10.67
20 7.05	20 8.29	20 9.53	20 10.78	25 7.16	25 8.40	25 9.64	25 10.88
30 7.26	30 8.50	30 9.74	30 10.98	35 7.36	35 8.60	35 9.84	35 11.09
40 7.47	40 8.71	40 9.95	40 11.19	45 7.57	45 8.81	45 10.05	45 11.29
50 7.67	50 8.91	50 10.15	50 11.40	55 7.78	55 9.02	55 10.26	55 11.50

TRAINMEN'S TABLE OF RATES OF PAY

Class Of Service.	Condr.	Trainman
Yard	\$6.64	\$6.16
Through Freight..	6.16	4.84
Local Freight.....	6.68	5.24
Mine Run.....	6.68	5.24
Pick Up.....	6.68	5.24
Milk	7.32	5.15

BASIC DAY 150 MILES SUBURBAN SERVICE

Passenger	Rate	Min. Pay	Month Guar.
Conductor	\$4.47	\$6.70	\$201.00
Baggageman	3.24	4.86	145.80
Baggage-Express ..	3.47	5.20	156.00
Ticket Collector....	3.69	5.53	
Flag. and Trainmen	3.13	4.70	141.00

Engineers—Pass.—Minimum ... \$7.00
 Firemen—Pass.—Minimum 5.25
 Minimum day for Conductor, Ticket Collector, Baggage-Master, 150 Miles; Brakeman and Flagmen, 150.2 Miles; Through Passenger Enginemen, Minimum Day; Through Passenger, Trainmen, Minimum Day.

Additions for Volume V:**1. Coe F. Young and His Son, Horace G. Young**

Biographical portrait of Coe F. Young in *Mathews*, pp. 249-50:

“Coe F. Young, for many years the general manager of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, is a descendant of an old English family, of Scotch extraction, whose representatives emigrated to this country at an early period in its history, and settled in Connecticut, where they became identified with the pioneer development of that State. . . [Coe F. Young] was born near Mount Hope, Orange County, N. Y., May 15, 1824. His early education was obtained at the district schools of his locality, and was completed at the Kingston (N. Y.) Academy, and the seminary at Amenia, Dutchess County, N. Y. as so many of our successful and prominent men have done. Before he attained his majority he served as a clerk in the store of Thomas W. Cornell & Co., at Eddyville, Ulster County, N. Y., and subsequently with their successor, Martin J. Merchant. Soon afterward, the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company began enlarging the canal, and the construction of the Erie Railway was undertaken. With the ambition of youth, and the energy and business sagacity that has since characterized his life, he resolved to profit by the opening trade and removed to Barryville, N. Y., where, in connection with Calvin P. Fuller, he established a store, the firm doing business under the name and style of Fuller & Young. In the spring of 1852 he bought of Major Cornell a half-interest in the canal freight line between New York and Northeastern Pennsylvania. The firm of Thomas Cornell & Co. was organized, and Mr. Young removed to Honesdale, Pa., where he has since resided. After five years, he became, by purchase the sole proprietor of the line, and operated it alone for seven years longer. At that time the transportation facilities of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company included only the canal and gravity railroad, and the mines of the company were only being moderately worked. On January 1, 1864, at the solicitation of George Talbot Olyphant, president of the company, and Thomas Dickson, general superintendent, Mr. Young entered the service of that company as superintendent of the Canal Department [“Mr. Young had been superintendent of the canal since 1864. He was untiring in activity, a strict disciplinarian, and he was to become, within a few

years, general manager of the company.” *COP*, p. 231]; and in 1865 the Rondout and Weehawken Department was placed under his supervision. In 1869 Mr. Olyphant resigned as president of the company and was succeeded by Mr. Dickson. Mr. Young was then made general superintendent [on March 1, 1869], and, after three years, became general manager, a position in which he served until the death of Mr. Dickson, in July, 1884, when he was elected vice-president and general manager of the company, Robert Olyphant being then, as now, the president. [On August 5, 1884, Robert M. Olyphant, D&H Vice President since May 9, 1882, was appointed acting-president and clothed with presidential powers. On October 24, he was elected president and Coe F. Young, who had served as General Manager was on that same day elected Vice-President and General Manager of the D&H company. Thomas Dickson named his wife, his cousin, James A. Linen, and his friend, Coe F. Young, as the executors of his estate following his death.] This responsible position was occupied by him until October 1, 1885, when he resigned, and Le Grand B. Cannon was made vice-president, and his son, Horace G. Young, general manager. / . . . In 1863 he [Coe F. Young] purchased nearly ten thousand acres of land a few miles north of Honesdale, including the tannery property at Tanner’s Falls, which he still owns. He is the president of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad, having succeeded Joseph H. Ramsey, and vice-president of the Cherry Valley and Susquehanna Railroad, and of the Schenectady and Waynesburg road, both under lease to the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. He has been president of the Honesdale National Bank for several years. He is a man of strong convictions, positive in his nature, of rare executive ability and of sterling integrity. It is not improper to say that the rapid development and successful manipulation of the affairs of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, in this section, is due to his broad and comprehensive management, and is the result of his conscientious and intelligent performance of his official duties. During his management the productive coal capacity of the company has been increased from eight hundred thousand tons annually to four and one-half millions, and the railway appendages of the company have all been added. By close and attentive reading and study he has acquired an education far in advance of what his school advantages afforded, and has become a thoroughly self-educated man. . . . He married, January 17, 1849, Miss Mary A., daughter of Peter Cornell, of Rondout, New York, and has four children living. Of these Cornelia Alice is the wife of George W. Barnes, now of Colorado; Horace G., by profession a civil engineer and a graduate of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute of Troy, N. Y., is the general manager of the company, and resides at Albany, N. Y.; Edwin is a graduate of Yale College, and of the Columbia College Law School, New York, and is the attorney of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, living at Albany; and Mary Augusta, is the wife of Joseph B. Dickson, of New York, youngest son of the late president Dickson.”

Coe F. Young and Thomas Dickson were good friends. The remarkable circumstances under which they met and some very interesting details about the boy hood years of Coe F. Young are presented in an article that was published in the December 12, 1898 issue (p. 6) of the *Carbondale Leader*. Here is that article:

"EARLY DAYS OF THE D. & H. / How the Company Came Into Existence—About Two of Its Prominent Pioneers / . . . COE F. YOUNG. / 'Any one who has been much in Orange county, New York, must have noticed how many citizens of that locality have been and are christened Coe F. Many years ago the most conspicuous person in all that country was Coe Finch. In Coe Finch's day a well-to-do and much respected farmer named Young lived just over the Sussex county line. Following custom and inclination, farmer Young named his first son Coe F. Sixty years or so ago this son was a lad perhaps fifteen years old. He was unusually bright, but his bent was mischievous. He was inclined to idleness and restlessness. He had a genius for sleight-of-hand tricks, and for imitating the songs of birds and cries of animals, and for ventriloquism. These gifts and his uniform good nature made him a favorite everywhere in that rural vicinage, especially with the good housewives and the young people. The lad particularly liked to visit at farmer Durland's at Minisink, but farmer Durland did not think his presence was good for the boys and the farm hands, so one day when the boy turned up the old farmer told him bluntly that he couldn't stay. This grieved the farmer's wife greatly, for the boy was a great favorite of hers, and she told him to go and hide in the barn. Mrs. Durland carried good things out to him and fed him like a prince for two days, when farmer Durland discovered him. Then the farmer threatened to flog him within an inch of his life. / **THOMAS DICKSON. /** This was a great humiliation and he turned his head toward the west and walked. He did not stop at the Young farm, but walked clear across Sussex county to the Delaware river, and kept on through Pennsylvania, crossed into New York state at Port Jervis, struck the towpath of the Delaware and Hudson canal and followed that. He had walked several miles on the towpath, when he was taken on board a canal boat bound for Honesdale. On this boat was a Scotch family, recently landed in America, on their way to the new coal country. One member of the family was a boy about the age of the wanderer from New Jersey. By the time the boat reached Honesdale the two boys had become fast friends. The destination of the Scotch family was Carbondale, which, like Honesdale, had been called into existence by the operations of the canal company. The father of the family was a skilled mechanic and was to go to work in the company's machine shops at Carbondale. The boy Young remained in Honesdale and procured work on the canal. It was not long before he had a boat of his own and his ability attracted the attention of the magnates of the company and other leading men. Then he was placed at the head of the freight department of the Canal company, and on the death of Russell F. Lord, general superintendent of the canal, Coe F. Young succeeded to the place. / 'There is a tradition that the Scotch boy whose acquaintance

Young made on the canal boat became a mule boy in the company's coal mines at Carbondale. He did drive a mule in the mines, but it was not compulsory, and it was only for a day or two, when his superior intelligence gained him a good place in the company's employ, and his advancement was so steady that he at last became president of the company in whose mine he had driven a mule. His name was Thomas Dickson. Soon after Dickson became president of the company his old towpath friend, Coe F. Young, was made vice-president and general manager. It was the sagacious and aggressive policy of these two men that secured to the canal company the gigantic railroad system of central and northern New York that it now owns, and the possession of which makes it possible for the company to abandon the canal." (*Carbondale Leader*, December 12, 1898, p. 6)

Thomas Dickson made a round the world tour in 1871. In his absence, Coe F. Young was in charge. In that year, 1871, the Lackawanna & Susquehanna Railway to Nineveh was completed. On May 1, 1871, another important step was taken towards Canada when the D&H secured a perpetual lease of the property and rights of Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad Company.

In *Hollister* (p. 183), we read the following: "The absence of President Dickson for a year, in his tour around the world in 1871, altered no prearranged measures of development or delayed pulling the latch strings of Canadian doorways." In other words: Coe F. Young implemented these important expansion initiatives on the part of the D&H.

In *Hollister* (pp. 183-184), we read the following about Coe F. Young:

"COE F. YOUNG, General Manager of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Company's Railways, living in Honesdale, Pennsylvania, a man of ministered deportment, of good sense and quick perception, thoroughly educated in the art of constructing and managing railways, enjoyed the high consideration then that he retains yet for the possession of qualifications requisite in the successful management of railroads, and was thus enabled to discharge the double duties of President and Manager [during Thomas Dickson's tour of the world] with becoming tact and discretion. It was during this year [1871] that the Company proposed to extend this last acquired railway [the R&S] along the western margin of Lake Champlain and nothing but a delay in getting the right of way, postponed work upon it until 1872."

Here is a copy of the engraved photographic likeness of Coe F. Young that is given facing page 249 in *Mathews*:



Coe F. Young

The Coe F. Young residence on West Main Street in Honesdale:



Photo on page 92 of *Honesdale*, in the *Images of America* series, by Kim Erickson, 2015. From the caption on the photograph, we learn that this was Coe F. Young's residence on West Main Street, next to the Lackawaxen River. It was known as the "Old Homestead," and was built in 1849, and was torn down in 1934 and replaced with Fowler's Service Station.

Coe F. Young was elected D&H General Superintendent on May 13, 1869. In the *Carbondale Advance* of May 15, 1869, we read:

"DELAWARE & HUDSON --ELECTION--At New York, on the 13th inst, the following Officers and Managers of the D. & H. Canal Co. were elected: / Thomas Dickson, President; C. P. Hartt, Treasurer; R. H. Nodyne, Secretary; James C. Hartt, Sales Agent; Coe F. Young, General Superintendent; Charles N. Talbot, Edward Woolsey, G. T. Olyphant, A. A. Low, R. N. Kennedy, James M. Halsted, L. G. B. Canon, James R. Taylor, Thomas Dickson, O. D. F. Grant, John Jacob Astor, Thomas Cornell, W. J. Hoppin, Managers." (*Carbondale Advance*, Saturday, May 15, 1869, p. 2)

D&H Engine No. 12 was named *Coe F. Young*. This engine was in an accident near Pittston in June 1875. The engineer, Daniel Pace, was probably fatally injured in the accident, which was caused by a misplaced switch.

"Daniel Pace, engineer of No. 12 on the Del. & Hud. R. R., was probably fatally injured on Thursday morning. The engine ran off the track owing to a misplaced switch, near Pittston, and tipped over. Pace was wedged in between the cab and the boiler for about two hours, and seriously bruised and burned." (*Carbondale Advance*, June 19, 1875, p. 3)

On January 1, 1873, Coe F. Young's title was changed to General Manager of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company:

"The D. & H. Company. / The Delaware and Hudson Canal Company have made the following changes, to go into effect on the 1st day of January, 1873: / 1st, the title of C. F. Young, Esq. General Superintendent, will be changed to that of General Manager. . *Rondout Freeman*." (*Advance*, January 4, 1873, p. 3)

In July 1884, when Thomas Dickson died, Coe F. Young (a confidential and long-term friend of Thomas Dickson's) was elected vice-president and general manager of the D&H.

Coe F. Young and his wife spent the winter of 1888 in Bermuda:

"The *Honesdale Citizen* says Coe F. Young and wife started last week for the Bermudas to spend the winter." (*The Journal*, January 12, 1888, p. 3):

Coe F. Young died on March 23, 1889. Here is the obituary of Coe F. Young that was published in *The New York Times* of March 23, 1889:

"COE F. YOUNG. / Coe F. Young of Honesdale, Penn., for many years General Manager and Vice-President of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, died yesterday morning of pneumonia at Thomasville, Ga., where he had gone in search of health. Mr. Young was born in 1824. Early in life he took an active part in business and became the proprietor of a line of freight and passenger packets running on the Delaware and Hudson Canal. In January, 1864, he entered the service of the canal company as Superintendent of the canal department. In January, 1869, he was made General Manager of the canal and railroads of the corporation. He was interested in the Honesdale (Penn.) National Bank, having filled the office of President for many years. / About three years ago he retired from active participation in the affairs of the canal company, and his son, Horace G. Young, was selected to fill his place as Vice-President and

General Manager. His wife, who was at Thomasville with him when he died; his sons, Horace G. and Edwin, and two daughters, one of whom is Mrs. Joseph B. Dickson of this city, survive him."

Summary Biographical Portrait of

Coe F. Young

1824-1889

Coe F. Young, of Scottish extraction, was born near Mount Hope, Orange County, NY, May 15, 1824. As a teenager who had run away from home, he was walking one day along the D&H Canal and was taken on board a canal boat bound for Honesdale. On board that boat was the James Dickson family from Scotland, recently landed in America and on their way to the anthracite fields. One member of the family was a boy named Thomas, about the age of the wanderer from New Jersey. By the time the boat reached Honesdale the two boys had become fast friends and remained friends for life. The Young boy remained in Honesdale and procured work on the canal as a mule driver on the tow-path of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. It was not long before he had a boat of his own and his ability attracted the attention of the magnates of the company and other leading men. Soon thereafter, he was placed at the head of the freight department of the Canal company. He married, January 17, 1849, Miss Mary A., daughter of Peter Cornell, of Rondout, New York. In the spring of 1852 he bought of Major Cornell a half-interest in his canal freight line between New York and Honesdale. In 1857 he became the sole owner of the freight line, and moved to Honesdale, where for the following seven years he operated successfully his D&H Canal freight line. In 1863, Coe F. Young purchased nearly ten thousand acres of land a few miles north of Honesdale, including the tannery property at Tanner's Falls. On January 1, 1864, at the solicitation of George Talbot Olyphant, president of the company, and Thomas Dickson, general superintendent, Coe F. Young entered the service of the D&H as superintendent of the Canal Department. His freight line, Coe F. Young's Delaware & Hudson Canal Line, as well as his lots of land contiguous to the lateral basin in Honesdale, were purchased by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company in late January 1864. On the death (July 7, 1867) of Russel F. Lord, general superintendent of the canal, Coe F. Young succeeded to that position. On May 13, 1869, he was named D&H General Superintendent. Thomas Dickson made a round the world tour in 1871. In his absence, Coe F. Young fulfilled the duties and responsibilities of General Superintendent and President. On January 1, 1873, Coe F. Young's title was changed to General Manager of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. On September 7, 1875 Coe F. Young became a director of the Albany and Susquehanna Railroad. On September 4, 1877, he was elected (as successor to Joseph H. Ramsey) President of the A&S. He served as president of the A&S up to September 17, 1889, when Robert M. Olyphant became A&S president (served until 1905). At that time (September 17, 1889) Horace G. Young (Coe F. Young's son) became a Director of the A&S (served as such

until 1902). Coe F. Young also served as vice-president of the Cherry Valley and Susquehanna Railroad, and of the Schenectady and Waynesburg road, both of which were leased to the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company. He served as General Manager of the D&H Canal until the death of Thomas Dickson, in July, 1884. On October 24, 1884, he was elected Vice-President and General Manager of the D&H company. In July 1885, he resigned, and his son, Horace G. Young, appointed assistant general manager in 1882, was, on September 30, 1885, appointed to fill the vacancy. Coe F. Young died of pneumonia at Thomasville, Ga., where he had gone in search of health, on March 23, 1889. D&H Engine No. 12 was named *Coe F. Young*.

2. Horace G. Young

Horace G. Young was one of the sons of Coe F. Young and his wife, nee Mary Cornell.

In 1882, Horace G. Young was appointed Assistant General Manager of the D&H. On September 30, 1885, Coe F. Young resigned and his son, Horace G. Young, was named vice president and general manager of the company.

About Horace G. Young's appointment as Vice President and General Manager of the D&H, we read the following in *Mathews* (pp. 250-251):

“The Honesdale *Citizen*, speaking of this appointment, editorially says,--/ While there is a cordial recognition of the new officials' experience and proved ability as amply vindicating this appointment, it is not without a certain element of unexpectedness, due to the contrast in years between the appointee and his predecessor. To compare a civil engineer with a military career, it is much like the selection of the youthful Bonaparte to command the army of Italy; and it is not too much to predict that a further parallel will be found in successful results. The new general manager was born in Honesdale, January 26, 1854. After due preparation for college, he entered Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, at Troy, N. Y. There he received a thorough scientific course, and was graduated with honor. In 1879 he entered the Delaware and Hudson service as assistant to the general manager. Here, bringing to the task the scientific acquirements gained at the Polytechnic, and with the valuable counsel of the general manager in their application to the work in hand, he rapidly mastered the complicated details of railroad and canal operations. In July, 1882, he was promoted to the position of assistant general manager, and took in special charge the Northern Railroad Department. This embraced the Albany and Susquehanna road, the New York and Canada, the Rensselaer and Saratoga, the Duanesburg and Schenectady, the Utica, Clinton and Binghamton, and the Cherry Valley Branch, with upward of six hundred miles of track; and of these roads he was practically the superintendent. In this position he proved himself a thoroughly practical railroad manager, of unusual energy, judgment and administrative ability. His success in the direction of this department was fully appreciated by the Delaware and Hudson directory, and the most conclusive proof of a practical recognition of his merits is seen in his appointment to the position so long and so ably filled by his father. This

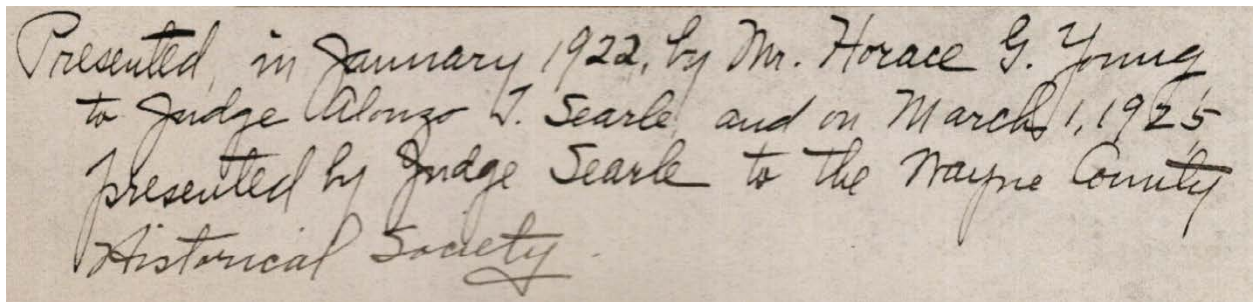
confidence in his ability rests on a substantial basis, and in the brilliant career on which he has entered he has the best wishes of a host of friends.”

In an article titled "The Popular D. & H. Route" that was published in the June 15, 1899 issue (p. 2) of the *Carbondale Leader*, Horace G. Young, Second Vice-President of the D. & H, and J. W. Burdick, the D. & H. general passenger agent, are praised for their skill in managing the passenger traffic on the D. & H., in upstate New York in particular. Here is that article:

"THE POPULAR D. & H. ROUTE. / It Furnishes Means of Access to Many Delightful Places—A Superbly Equipped Line. / There is probably no railway line in the Eastern country that passes through a more continuously beautiful territory or furnishes the means of access to more delightful spots which have become famous among the tired workers of the cities as summer resting places than the Delaware & Hudson railroad. The seeker for health or for pleasure, the sportsman and the tourist have long been familiar with the route to the mountains, lakes and valleys of northern New York, and the public generally have learned the fact that by this road they can reach any kind of country that fancy may dictate, and that in seeking a summer home their choice can readily be suited by a glance at the map of the road and reference to the complete and comprehensive guide book issued by the Delaware & Hudson company. / Pleasure seekers desire comfort while on their journeys as well as at their abiding places, and this comfort includes not only cheerful and easy-riding cars, but fast trains and accurate adherence to the published timetables. The Delaware and Hudson company has always kept these points in view, and the train service which it maintains both in summer and winter is as perfect as modern railroad science is capable of. The roadbed is kept up to a high standard of perfection, the cars are modern in design, easy riding and well kept, while all passenger locomotives burn anthracite coal, thus doing away with the nuisance of smoke and cinders. / The Delaware and Hudson has long been one of the most popular routes for reaching the Adirondacks, as it touches several of the most important gateways into the mountains. At Saratoga the Adirondack railway branches off on its way to the Schroon region, and to North Creek, where stages are taken to Blue Mountain lake, and the region of the Raquette. Further on at Fort Edward, the Lake George branch leaves the main line to carry the tourist to that famous region. At Westport, the traveler for [. . .] region leaves the train. Then comes Port Kent, with its connection with the celebrated Au Sable Chasm; Bluff Point, where the Grand Hotel Champlain is situated, and Plattsburg where connection is made with the Chateaugay road for Lyon mountain and Ralph's Kushaquua and Bloomingdale, where conveyances are taken for Paul Smith's. Saranac lake comes next and from here an extension of the road goes on to the beautiful Lake Placid. / The 'Delaware & Hudson' is also a favorite route for Montreal, Saratoga, Sharon Springs and hundreds of other resorts of lesser fame; but one of its strongest claims for popularity is the splendor and variety of the scenery encountered in a day's journey over the line, a variety hardly equaled in the world /The science of passenger traffic has become a fine art with H. G. Young, second vice-president of the Delaware & Hudson road, and J. W. Burdick, the popular general passenger agent, and it is largely due to their efforts and skill that the line has gained its present popularity [emphasis added]." (*Carbondale Leader*, June 15, 1899, p. 2)

Horace G. Young was Second Vice President in 1898 when the closing of the Gravity Railroad was announced. At that time, C. R. Manville was superintendent, and R. M. Olyphant was president.

In January 1922, Horace G. Young gave to Judge Alonzo Searle an important collection of nineteenth century photographs, including 21 large-format albumen prints, each on a gilt-bordered mount, by Thomas H. Johnson of Scranton. On March 1, 1925, Judge Searle presented those photographs to the Wayne County Historical Society, in whose archives those photographs are now housed. In the lower-left corner of each of these Johnson prints is the following handwritten note:



Presented, in January 1922, by Mr. Horace G. Young
to Judge Alonzo J. Searle and on March 1, 1925
presented by Judge Searle to the Wayne County
Historical Society.

Addition for Volume VI:

1. Thomas Dickson Lecture, March 1, 1873, at the Opera House in Scranton

"Thomas Dickson's Lecture. / A large and appreciative audience greeted Mr. Dickson at the Opera House in Scranton, on Tuesday evening of the present week, on the occasion of his giving his narrative Lecture of a 'Voyage Around the World,' and we are proud to say that Carbondale, his old home, was so largely represented, not less than perhaps 200 tickets having been secured in our town. Such a large representation of his old friends must have been gratifying to him. We noticed also a considerable number of ladies and gentlemen from Honesdale, Pittston, Wilkes-Barre, and other places more distant, who had come expressly out of their high respect for the lecturer and the interest they took in his subject. In all respects his Lecture was a success. / Mr. Hand, of the Young Men's Christian Association, appeared on the stage with Mr. Dickson, and after a few fitting and happily chosen words, which he would not for obvious reasons, allow to be considered as an introduction, Mr. Dickson rose and received a hearty greeting from his audience. After a humorous preface, in which he alluded to his appearing in the role of a public

lecturer, and disclaiming all title to indulgence on the score of inexperience as a public speaker, and want of time for preparation, he started on his journey around the world, and taking his audience with him over the Pacific Railroad, he arrived at San Francisco. From thence he took steamer for Japan, and after a pleasant but monotonous voyage of twenty-five days on the Pacific, he was landed at Yokahama. After making the most of the time he could devote to Japan, he hastened to China, there to meet his oldest son James. In China he spent some time, and was busy in seeing what was most worthy his attention. His description of this country, as well as that of Japan, and their cities, including the habits and customs of their people, was very interesting, and oftentimes very funny. His movement had to be rapid, and after visiting India, Palestine and the Holy Land, which he could only mention by name, he hastened onward toward Europe. The 'Mecca of his pilgrimage,' as he told us, was Scotland. This was the country of all others he had looked forward to visiting with the most interest. It was the country of his birth and the home of his early boyhood, and he lingered with affectionate interest, not without a tinge of melancholy, around the spot where he was born. But it was evident to those who could read 'between the lines' there were many touching things in this connection that delicacy prohibited mentioning. He told us how changed things were from what his boyish recollection has pictured them. A generation had, in forty years, passed from off the stage of action, and another had taken its place. The little house in which he first saw the light had grown still smaller. Distances, too, were sadly shortened. Change was written on everything. He visited on a Sunday the old Kirk which he had attended with his parents in his childhood, and found strangers all. Before leaving Scotland he visited some of her principal cities and towns and other places of interest, and by no means forgetting the birth-place, monument, and other places rendered immortal by the Poet of his affections. After a short stay in England he turned his face homeward, and taking steamer at Queenstown he was in ten days landed at Jersey City, where he was met and warmly welcomed home by many friends who had anticipated his arrival. / In a lecture of an hour and a half, it was impossible for Mr. Dickson to do more than barely touch upon many places and topics that would have been deeply interesting to his audience to have listened to, especially may we say, his visit to India, Palestine and the Holy Land. With the exception of China and Japan, where he longest dwelt, his account of what he saw in nearly all other countries was of necessity a mere outline. Taking his lecture as a whole, it was very interesting and instructive. It was well written, and in general well delivered. A critical ear could now and then detect a pronunciation of certain words not in accordance with Webster, perhaps; but these were very small defects. / Mr. Dickson's powers of description are of a high order, and we all know of his irrepressible humor and love of fun. His picture of the sunset scene which he witnessed on the Pacific Ocean was truly a very fine piece of word painting and would have done credit to one making larger pretensions than does Mr. Dickson to nice literary culture. There were other very fine touches of description, perfectly easy and natural, which we cannot stop to notice. All his observations and reflections showed the man of the eminently practical mind for which he is so distinguished. His eyes and ears were always open, and if, at times, he saw things through a mirthful light, why, Nature is to be blamed for it; he cannot help it. / After arriving at home again, he closed his lecture by taking a retrospective glance at the various countries of the Old World which he had visited, and their institutions, and drew an instructive comparison between them and our highly

avored country, greatly to the advantage of the latter. He reminded us that the great opportunities we enjoyed were the measure of equally great responsibilities, and that Heaven was just and inexorable. Nations and individuals are alike responsible for the talents given them, and will be held to a strict account for their use. / The lecture was in part an epitome of the large number of interesting letters which he wrote to his friends at home, during his twelve months' absence. These, we understand, are to be gathered together, and, for the gratification of his friends to whom they were addressed, published in book form for private distribution, just as they were written. His many pressing business cares will not even permit a fresh perusal of them, much less giving them any polish. But the present writer knows of at least one person who intends to secure a copy!" (*Carbondale Advance*, March 1, 1873, p. 3)

During a Christmas visit to Carbondale to see his father in December 1875, D&H president Thomas Dickson was treated to a spontaneous public rally/reception outside the Andrew Watt residence on North Church Street in Carbondale. An impromptu address was delivered by S. S. Benedict, Esq., with a response from Thomas Dickson. Here is the account of this highly genteel event that was published in the *Carbondale Advance* of January 1, 1876:

"Respects to President Dickson. / As stated in our columns last week, Thos. Dickson, President of the Del. & Hud. C. Co., and his brother George L. Dickson, visited their father on Thursday evening of last week at the residence of Andrew Watt, Esq. [With Thomas and George Dickson were Mrs. Thomas Dickson, and daughter, Mrs. T. F. Torry, of Chicago, Mrs. G. L. Dickson and son, and Mr. and Mrs. John R. Fordham and daughter.] It having become known that Mr. and Mrs. Watt proposed to throw open their doors awhile for friends that wished to see them, many of our leading citizens and their wives embraced the opportunity to extend their greetings and enjoyed a very pleasant season. / In addition to this the thought suggested itself to many of our old citizens that had known President Dickson in his early years among us, to call in a body and pay their respects. The services of our excellent brass band, 'The Continental Band,' were obtained, and proceeded with them to Mr. Watt's residence, and discoursed some very fine music. / During an intermission in the music, S. S. Benedict, Esq., was called out, who made an *impromptu* address, about as follows: / MR. DICKSON, PRESIDENT OF THE DELAWARE & HUDSON CANAL CO: / You see before you an assemblage of the old citizens of Carbondale. It is a spontaneous gathering of your old friends and neighbors that have called to pay their respects. We have not come to present gifts, or ask for favors, but in the fullness of our hearts we wish to tender our compliments and our congratulations upon your advancement to the high position which you have for many years filled with so much ability and credit. To none can your great success be more gratifying than to us, your old neighbors. We knew you when an attentive scholar in school, and that you were attentive and successful as a scholar I can personally testify, having had the honor in those early days to be one of your teachers, and my own gratification in your success is only second to what a parent would feel. Next, we knew you as an active clerk in one of our leading mercantile establishments; then as an enterprising merchant, afterwards a successful Iron Founder here, and subsequently in Scranton; then as General Superintendent of

the vast business of the Delaware & Hudson Canal Co.; as Vice President of the Company, and soon after, several years since, as the President of that Company. / With that Company, one of the most honorable and useful, as well as one of the strongest and most influential in our country, the interests of our town have ever been identified. We earnestly wish her success, and it gives us great pleasure to know that under your administration she 'Has lengthened her cords, and strengthened her stakes;' has thrown out her iron arms and grasped new markets, nearly rivaling in importance the old markets on the seaboard. By this great extension of the facilities and business of the company you are enabled to give greater employment to labor in our valley, and to distribute our valley's great staple where it will bless hundreds of thousands of hearthstones. / But not to detain you too long—allow us in conclusion to wish you and yours, and friends all, the compliments of the season, the smiles of Providence and long life and happiness, and for yourself, personally, long continued health, honor and usefulness in your high and responsible position. / Mr. Dickson responded in about the following words: / MR. BENEDICT, AND CITIZENS OF CARBONDALE: / This demonstration and call is as unexpected as it is pleasing to me. I came here for the purpose of spending the night quietly with my aged father, and had no expectation of meeting so many of my old friends and neighbors. / Although my business has been such as to make necessary another but not distant home—and other associations—the people of Carbondale have always held a warm place in my heart, as it was among them that I passed my boyhood and ripened into manhood, and among them my first efforts in business were initiated. And to you, sir, I am indebted for at least a portion of my education, for as my teacher, you instilled those rudiments to which must be credited, under Providence, in a large degree, whatever of success I may have attained; and it was you that gave me the first and only thrashing I received at the hands of a schoolmaster, for although I doubtless frequently deserved it, I managed in some way to avoid it. / For Carbondale and her people, then, I have always felt a deep and abiding interest, not only from my early associations, but from the fact that the corporation which I represent have large interests here. And I may here say that the interests of the Company are identical with yours, as disaster of any kind can not be sustained by one without inflicting damage upon the other. Knowing as I do what it is to labor, I have at all times felt a deep interest in the laboring community, and am largely indebted to them for their aid in carrying out the enterprises with which I have been entrusted—and while at times ill feelings have been engendered, growing out of real or fancied grievances, they have been short lived, and in the years that I have been associated with them I have had their willing aid and loyal service and support. And while the Company is not by any means a charitable institution, and the money that has been poured out in the extension of her enterprises has been invested with the expectation of reasonable returns, it has always been a source of satisfaction to me that, whatever might be the fate of the investments as such—and it is a problem not yet solved—it has given employment and bread to a large number of men. / Now, a few words to the citizens of Carbondale. An old Scotch proverb says that 'it is a foul bird that 'files its own nest,' and this the people of Carbondale have been prone to do—as more has been said in the way of decrying her present and future prospects, by your own people, than by all outside influences combined. And if you are to continue to grow and increase in population and prosperity, you must believe in

yourselves—for Providence usually helps those who help themselves. You now have outlets North and South, East and West, and are as favorably located for manufacturing as any of our neighboring towns. This is an interest you should foster, then you will enter upon a career of prosperity of which the past will be but the shadow. / Wishing you all a 'merry Christmas,' with many happy returns, and with the earnest hope that peace, plenty and happiness may surround your firesides and gladden your hearts, and that you may increase in basket and in store, I wish you all good night." (*Carbondale Advance*, January 1, 1876, p. 3)

2. Thomas Dickson Lecture on January 22, 1878, in the Methodist Church in Carbondale, on the Topic "What I Saw in India"

"Thos. Dickson Esq. / Of Scranton will deliver the next lecture in the popular course of the M. E. Church. His subject will be 'What I Saw in India.' Mr. Dickson will speak of scenes and events, which he has witnessed and taken part in, not of what he has read about in books of travel, and has an exceedingly pleasant and happy manner of describing what he has seen. This lecture invariably draws large audiences elsewhere, as it will be sure to do here, on next Wednesday evening January 22d. Mr. Dickson is so well known here, and is so deservedly popular with all classes, that it would seem to be only necessary to announce his name and the date of his appearance to secure a full house even if the cause in whose interest the lecture is delivered, did not commend itself to every one." (*Carbondale Leader*, January 10, 1878, p. 3)

Addition for Volume VIII:

1. Fishing Excursion to Stanton's Pond

"Mr. M. M. Thorpe, Miss Eunice Tabor, daughter of Judge Tabor, of Washington, and Miss Gussie Lathrope, went on a fishing excursion to Stanton's Pond last Saturday. At Waymart they were joined by five more lively ladies and gentlemen. The party fished all day with remarkable success, and the piscatorial sport was enjoyed with a great deal of gusto. The weather was cool and bracing, enough so to make out-of-door exercise healthful and pleasant for the ladies; and the gentlemen of the party were in high glee, both on account of having such agreeable companions, and also, with their success in securing a bountiful supply of the finny inhabitants of the pond. Mr. Thorpe and ladies returned home at night with thirty-nine pounds of as 'good fish as ever were caught,' and were so well pleased with their trip that they will doubtless try their luck again at no distant day." (*Carbondale Leader*, September 13, 1873, p. 2)

Additions for Volume X:

1. Dr. Julia Hunter

Dr. Julia S. Hunter was killed on January 29, 1886, when the 11:30 A.M. passenger train from Carbondale to Scranton struck the carriage in which she was riding at the Erie breaker crossing about two miles south of Carbondale in Carbondale Township. In Volume X in this series, pp. 193-194, we presented an account of this accident (**"A SHOCKING ACCIDENT. / MRS. DR. HUNTER MEETS AN UNTIMELY DEATH ON THE RAILROAD. / Mrs. C. W. Stanton and Daughter, of Jermyn, Also Injured. The Latter Miraculously Escape the Sad Fate of Their Companion."**).

On March 3, 2016, Geoff . S. Hunter (GSHunter2000@aol.com, 281-937-7221) contacted the Lackawanna Historical Society in an effort to learn Dr. Hunter's middle name; also the middle name of Robert L. Hunter Jr. who died in Dunmore Pa. (1814- 9 April, 1899).

In his email to the LHS, Geoff Hunter reported that Dr. Julia S. Hunter (maiden name Briggs) was his great grandmother, and that "She was born in New York State sometime in the year in 1851 (Possibly Otsego County, New York). She was married (no exact date or location) in approx. 1870 to Dr. George Rexford Hunter. They had three children, Virgil "Bert" LeGrand Hunter, who was born in 1871 in Hamilton, New York (my grandfather), Ada who died shortly after birth in 1873 (buried with Julia in the *WillowView Cemetery* in Clifford), Pa. and Junious Rexford Hunter, born in 1874 supposedly on Long Island, New York. George was the son of *Robert L. Hunter Jr. (1814-1899) & Cynthia Jane "Linthy" Wells. Julia got her Medical Degree from the *United States Medical College of New York* and graduated March 8th, 1882. She became a registered physician in the State of Pennsylvania July 14th, 1882. She had her practice in Carbondale, Pa. She was killed in an accident with a horse & carriage and a RR train in Jermyn, Pa. on Friday, January 29th, 1886. [article in *Scranton Republican*]. There is a *possibility* that Julia & George Hunter were divorced (or in the process of) sometime between Junious' birth and her untimely death. We have not been able to find any documents showing them living together any time after or before then as a matter of fact. It was also noted that Julia was a member of the *Strict Baptist Church* in Carbondale, Pa. The Elder Roots (?) Preached her Funeral Sermon. Why her and her husband had practices in different places is still a mystery. Why was Junious` sent to the "*Soldiers Orphan School*" in Harford, Pa. only a week before her untimely death? Why was he living with his grandparents (Robert & Cynthia) on the 1880 census in Clifford as well. This was before she got her degree in New York City. Why was Virgil living with his father (George) in Brooklyn at the time of her death? (could be Brooklyn, Pa. or Brooklyn, New York as he lived in both places). It seems George was all over the place, pretty much the whole time. He attended *Bucknell University* for a short time in 1871, in 1872/73 he was in Seminary School in Hamilton, NY (*Colgate University*). He then attended *The Eclectic Medical College Of New York* and graduated from there 1877. These facts giving credence to the

“divorce” theory. It may also be noted that my Great-Grandfather George re-married in May of 1886 in New Jersey. Regardless, we are still trying to find more information about Julia S. Briggs (Hunter). We believe the answer lies in her middle name.”

Geoff Hunter is also looking for more information on Robert L. Hunter Jr., who died in Dunmore Pa. (1814- 9 April, 1899). He reports: “He was the son of Robert L. Hunter (1775-1864) and Esther Clark. There was also another, related Robert L. Hunter (1851-1919) who was the son of Thomas Marshall Hunter (1808-1893) brother of Robert L. Hunter (1814-1899). He was married to Kate Jolly. We have not, even after all these years of research been able to find one document telling us what the initial “L” stands for. Only theories & speculation.”

2. Passenger and Freight Stations on the Valley Road between Carbondale and Scranton

Shown below are the eight D&H passenger and freight stations on the Valley Road. These photos are from *The Delaware and Hudson Company Board of Managers Inspection of Lines* :
.; June 7th to June 10th, 1928.

Scranton, Pa.

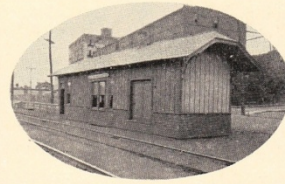
The original D. & H. Passenger Station was the D. L. & W. Station which stood where the present D. L. & W. Freight House now stands.



SOUTH SCRANTON COMBINATION
STATION
BUILT IN 1886-1887



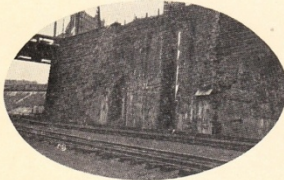
ORIGINAL GENERAL
OFFICE BUILDING



SOUTH SCRANTON COMBINATION
STATION BUILT IN 1886-1887
First called Steel Works later called Slocum

PASSENGER STATION SITE
ABANDONED IN 1894

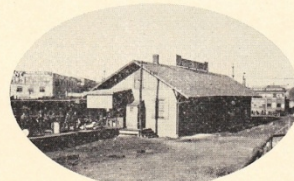
1894—D. & H. Co. attempted to build a station south of the present station, but was enjoined by the Mayor of Scranton and it was abandoned by the R. R. Co.



LACKAWANNA AVENUE PASSENGER
STATION
BUILT IN 1894-1895



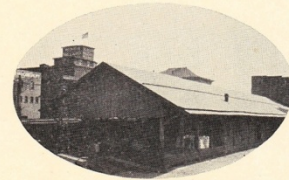
'STEEL WORKS' FREIGHT
HOUSE
BUILT IN 1886-1887



WYOMING AVENUE FREIGHT HOUSE
BUILT IN 1883



LACKAWANNA AVENUE FREIGHT
OFFICE
PURCHASED IN 1901



LACKAWANNA AVENUE FREIGHT
HOUSE
BUILT IN 1901
Located in rear of Lackawanna Ave. Freight
Office

Dickson, Pa.



COMBINATION PASSENGER AND
FREIGHT STATION BUILT
IN 1890

Moved about 800 feet north in 1912



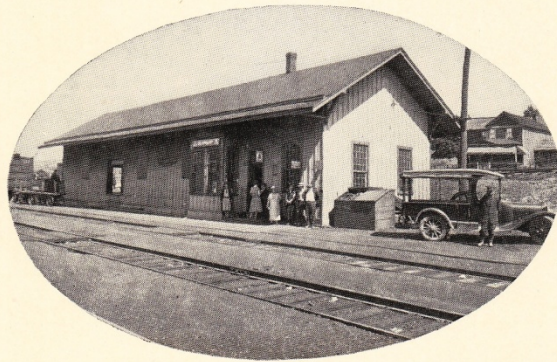
PASSENGER STATION
BUILT IN 1890
Remodeled as Passenger Station in 1912-13



FREIGHT HOUSE
BUILT IN 1912

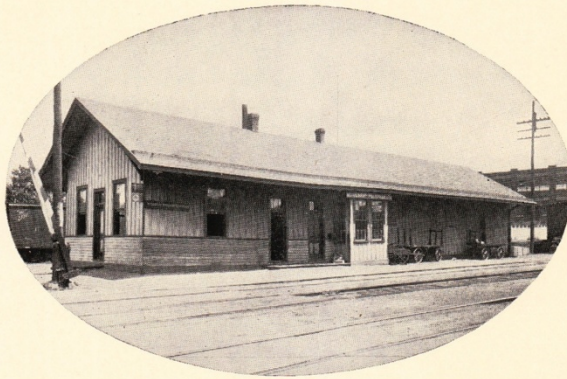
Olyphant, p. 27:

Olyphant, Pa.



COMBINATION PASSENGER AND FREIGHT STATION
BUILT IN 1873

Jessup-Peckville, Pa.



COMBINATION PASSENGER AND FREIGHT STATION
BUILT IN 1873
Extension to station built in 1887

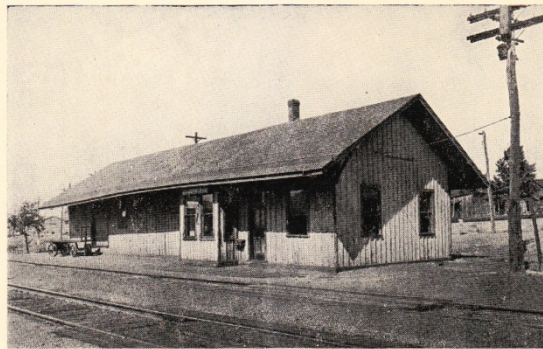
Archbald, Pa.



COMBINATION PASSENGER AND FREIGHT HOUSE
BUILT IN 1873

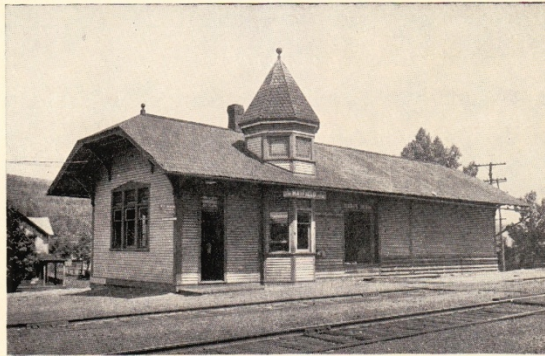
1904-5 Moved about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile north on opposite side of track and enlarged

Jermyn, Pa.



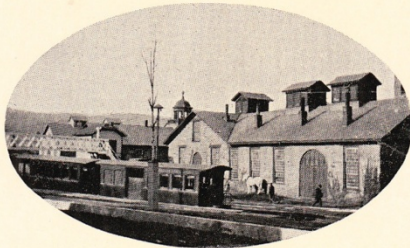
COMBINATION PASSENGER AND FREIGHT HOUSE
BUILT IN 1873
1904-5 Moved back 25 feet

Mayfield, Pa.

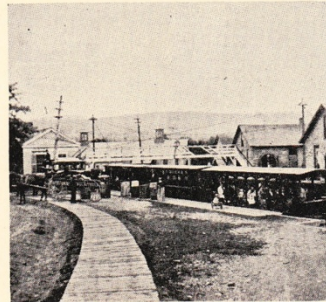


COMBINATION PASSENGER AND FREIGHT STATION
BUILT IN 1890-1891
Originally only a platform stop located at corner of Chestnut Street

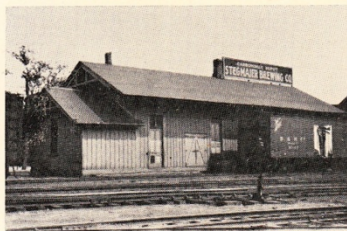
Carbondale, Pa.



PLANE NO. 1, GRAVITY R. R.



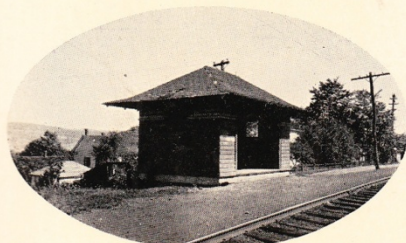
GRAVITY STATION FOOT OF PLANE
NO. 1
ABANDONED AS A STATION IN 1899
Used until 1928 as an office for electrical department, then moved to make room for new
General Office Building.



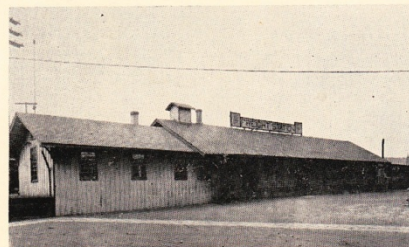
COMBINATION PASSENGER AND FREIGHT
STATION—DUNDAFF STREET
BUILT IN 1870
ABANDONED AS STATION IN 1896
Now used as Yard Crew dispatcher's office



PASSENGER STATION
BUILT IN 1895



LINCOLN AVENUE WAITING ROOM
BUILT IN 1911



FREIGHT HOUSE
BUILT IN 1876
This building was cut in half, and moved to Erie tracks,
opposite D. & H. Freight Office, now used as
Erie Freight Office.

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